THE

AMERICAN WEST

COVER:

"Muleteers at Guanajuato"

Guanajuato on the central plateau north of Mexico City was one of the biggest silver bonanzas ever discovered in North America. Opened in the midsixteenth century, the mines there and at Zacatecas and in neighboring areas poured out a flood of precious metal that roused the envy of Europe. To protect her American dominions, Spain was forced to project defensive measures. Frontier missions, presidios, and settlements were thrown up to keep out the intruders, and in that way Spanish civilization was carried into California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and elsewhere—the Spanish Borderlands. From a lithograph made in Mexico about 1845 and housed in the collections of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa.

THE

AMERICAN WEST

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THE
AMERICAN WEST

Magazine of the Western History Association

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Camposanto (cemetery) del Medio de San Francisco, Ranchos de Taos.

The Greater Southwest

C. Gregory Crampton

This issue of THE AMERICAN WEST *is devoted to the sweep of big country from Texas to the Californias which for centuries has been a mingling ground of culturally diverse peoples. The late Herbert E. Bolton, who devoted much of his life studying the region's history, called it the "Spanish Borderlands." The "greater Southwest" the archeologists call the region, the heart of which broadly extends from Durango in Mexico to Durango in Colorado, and from Las Vegas, New Mexico, to Las Vegas, Nevada. In this vast area the archeologists have pushed back the history of man some nine thousand years. They have found that with the passage of centuries the prehistoric southwesterners gradually developed in their way of life a sophistication heigthened by introductions such as agriculture and pottery coming to them from the brilliant civilizations in southern Mexico and central America.*

One of those peoples to develop a distinctive culture (which they had achieved before A.D. 1300) were the ancestors of the modern Pueblo Indians living today in the valley of the Rio Grande in New Mexico and in the Hopi and Zuñi villages along the upper reaches of the Little Colorado River close to the Arizona-New Mexico boundary. Once the Pueblos found a way of life that gave them enduring satisfaction, they clung to it stubbornly. True, they have accepted certain practical features of the white man's civilization—livestock and automobiles as examples—but to this day they have preserved the rich fabric of their native religious ceremonialism which permeates Pueblo life to the core.

One of the Pueblo groups, the Zuñis, has not changed greatly its outlook upon the world since the Spaniards arrived at its threshold over four hundred years ago. After the arrival of the Europeans these Pueblos did move from their scattered settlements (which the Spaniards called the "Kingdom of Cibola") to the present village of Zuñi located on the river of the same name just inside the western boundary of New Mexico. There, just at the end of the last century, Adam Clark Vroman recorded with his camera what would have been recognizable to Friar Marcos de Niza and Francisco Vâsquez de Coronado in 1539-40.

Although the Zuñis and Hopis and the Pueblos of the Rio Grande were something of a disappointment to Coronado, the presence of these town-dwelling, sedentary Indians was enough before the end of the sixteenth century to attract the Spaniards back as settlers to the land they called New Mexico.

Meanwhile Spain struck it rich. Beginning in 1546 at Zacatecas, a number of big bonanzas of silver were discovered on the central plateau north of Mexico City, and there followed a silver rush to the New World, a wild scramble to be duplicated three centuries later in California. There was one important difference: While the California gold rush was an international affair, the Spanish mines in America were closed to the world. As a result the big bonanzas of New Spain became a focus of envy. England, France, the Netherlands sought ways to overcome Spanish power and lay hands on the silver of Mexico.

Spain responded by extending her frontiers north beyond the silver country deep into western North America. New Mexico was occupied before the end of the sixteenth century. Then in the eighteenth century Texas was occupied as a buffer against the French in the Mississippi basin. On the Pacific side in Baja California and Sonora

and Arizona, the Jesuits pacified the Indians and stabilized the northwestern frontier, thus opening the way for the eighteenth-century occupation of Alta California in response to threats from England and Russia.

There were heroes aplenty on Spain's frontiers in North America. The missionary was no less important than the soldier. The work for God and state by the Jesuit Francisco Eusebio Kino has been praised in a series of distinguished books. But the common soldier, sticking it out on a remote post at the end of the world, has remained unsung in the pages of history.

Indeed it was the end of the world. Spain's borderlands in North America which stretched from St. Augustine to San Francisco were outlandish places—especially those in the West—remote from the centers of life and power. But Spain's impress on those frontiers was profound. Spanish colonial style, everywhere evident in the frontier settlements, was epitomized by architecture, notably the architecture of church and mission—the principal physical symbol of Spanish power in the wilderness of America.

In other ways Spain left a lasting mark. From the populous centers in central Mexico, the Spanish conquest of America was borne northward on horseback. The horses, the style of riding, the horseman's saddle and related gear introduced from Old Spain were adapted to conditions in New Spain. As it had evolved by the time of the war between Mexico and the United States, the Spanish saddle had been adopted by stockmen in Texas and California whence it spread throughout the West to become the western stock saddle of today.

The outpourings of the big bonanzas and the wealth of Mexico was not lost on the United States as the nation moved into the West beyond the Mississippi. In his Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain, *published in 1811 after he visited Mexico, the celebrated scientist Alexander von Humboldt foretold a growing interest by the American people in the Spanish territories to the West. In his four-volume work, Humboldt described in minute detail the wealth of Mexico's resources and confirmed the findings made by Zebulon Montgomery Pike during his enforced tour of some of the northern provinces.*

As Mexico became independent of Spain in 1821 she threw open her doors to world commerce. But the appetites whetted by Humboldt and Pike were not slaked fully by the trade with Santa Fe and with other of the Mexico border cities and states. Growing tension and the annexation of Texas led to war, and the United States sliced off the old colonial defensive borderlands. But the big bonanzas remained in Mexico, and after the French intervention in the 1860's headed by Maximilian, the mines were reopened and a vigorous trade largely related to this new mining boom was reactivated with the United States. Before the coming of the railroad much of this commerce traveled the long road from the Gulf of Mexico through Texas to Chihuahua, and it was a business as easily dramatic as the earlier trade between Missouri and Santa Fe.

When from 1845 to 1853 the United States acquired from Mexico the territory now composing the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, the Spanish-speaking residents of those areas and the Indians found themselves confronted by Anglo-American civilization. Responding much as they did toward the Spaniards, numbers of Indian groups have retained their cultural identity in preference to the American way of life, and the soul of Spain lives on in the Spanish-speaking populations. But as the Anglo-Americans continue to pour into the Southwest, the Indian and the Spanish, or Mexican, presence is threatened by cultural inundation.

In the pages of this issue of the magazine we have touched upon some aspects of the historical heritage of the big country comprising the southwestern United States and northern Mexico. The rich dialogue between peoples of diverse ways has given the greater Southwest a savor to be nourished and not forgotten. If a culture is to flourish, diversity among the human elements which create it is surely necessary.

Spring Water with a Taste of the Land

The Mexican Presence in the American Southwest

BY CECIL ROBINSON

The billboards are to go down, Washington assures us. We are to regain America, the beautiful. But will we discover, with our visibility thus increased, that the blight on the American landscape remains essentially intact? European visitors to the United States complain that one American city is indistinguishable from another. Everything is Main Street, U.S.A.; and with the rise of the suburbs and the industrialization of agriculture, outlying districts and the very countryside itself are taking on the pale cast of American standardization. Yet there is one region of the country which seems still to be resisting this encroachment, even if only in the form of a rear-guard action. Tourists and newcomers to the American Southwest—aided of course by publicity reminders—proclaim the enchantment of the area. Considerations of climate aside, there is something else which attracts them, though often enough they will enjoy the visible attractions without giving due credit or real sympathy to the source of their enjoyment. If the Southwest still retains a vivid pigmentation, the credit belongs to Mexico and its still living presence in the American Borderlands.

Perhaps, before it is too late, the general American public and particularly the Anglo-American population of the Southwest should recognize an important debt to Mexican culture. American literature has taken cognizance of this debt for some time. Walt Whitman, who sensed that the future of American culture lay in a rich synthesis of various national and ethnic strains, saw the Hispanic Southwest as making an important contribution to this amalgamation:

> To that composite American identity of the future, Spanish character will supply some of the most needed parts. No stock shows a grander historic retrospect—grander in religiousness and loyalty, or for patriotism, courage, decorum, gravity and honor. . . . As to the Spanish stock of our Southwest, it is certain to me that we do not begin to appreciate the splendor and sterling value of its race element. Who knows but that element, like the course of some subterranean river, dipping invisibly for a hundred or two years, is now to emerge in broadest flow and permanent action?

Generally speaking, it is still true that we have not begun to appreciate the contribution that Mexican culture can make to American civilization. In the Southwest, cities which only twenty years ago were small and savorful are now burgeoning. The new growth is principally in the pattern of Main Street, U.S.A. While recent arrivals to these cities from the East or the Middle West hurry about their business, the Mexican-American, whose ancestors gave these cities their names and their original tone, is becoming increasingly "the invisible man" in the same sense that the novelist Ralph Ellison used the term to refer to his own people, the many Negroes of the big cities who are present but not really "seen." The imaginations of poets or novelists often recognize possibilities before the more literal formulators of ideas come upon them. If there still remain solutions and opportunities which might allow our Southwest to fulfil its cultural potentialities, it is the literary men and women to whom we should look for guidance. They have pictured the Southwest directly as they have seen it, and they have also given us a vision. Walt Whit-

man may yet prove to have been prophetic.

The concept of a vital synthesis in the Southwest of Hispanic and Saxon elements, propounded by Whitman, has had its literary descendents. In the late nineteenth century, a Connecticut newspaperman, Charles F. Lummis, went to the Southwest and experienced an ecstatic conversion to the Mexican culture that he found there. In a series of books with such titles as *Flowers of Our Lost Romance* and *Land of Poco Tiempo*, he upbraided Yankee historians for their ethnocentric view of American history and said he hoped that he would live to see a book whose author would "realize that the early history of this wonderful country is not limited to a narrow strip on the Atlantic seaboard, but that it began in the great Southwest." "Why," sputtered Lummis, "there is not even one history which gives the correct date of the founding of Santa Fe, which was a Spanish city more than a decade before the landing at Plymouth Rock!" Following a similar "road to Damascus" was Mary Austin who left a provincial community in the Middle West to discover the ancient and richly ceremonial cultures of the Indians and Mexicans of the Southwest. After a preliminary experience in a California which was as yet unspoiled, she settled in Santa Fe, New Mexico, where she devoted her life to publicizing the indigenous cultures of the Southwest. She predicted—perhaps because she so strongly willed it so—a cultural fusion between Indian, Mexican, and Anglo-American which would produce a new society combining elements of grace and strength. In *The Land of Journey's Ending* she wrote:

> Three strains of comparative purity lie here in absorbing contact, the Indian, the Spanish, and the so-called Nordic-American . . . so that in New Mexico and Arizona we approach nearest, in the New World, to the cultural beginnings which produced the glory that was Greece, the energetic blond engrafture on a dark, earth-nurtured race, in a land whose beauty takes the breath like pain.

Charles F. Lummis and Mary Austin, despite horatory styles which now seem rather naive, were serious, creative, and suggestive visionaries about the possibilities of the Southwest. Some other newcomers to the scene were content to exploit, for an avid reading public back east, the merely picturesque in the Hispanic Southwest. The flamboyant Joaquin Miller celebrated "glorious, gory Mexico" in his poems, while Bret Harte peopled his San Francisco with "Spanish Californian hidalgos" full of "quaint customs, speech, and dress" and mouthing the "proverbs of Sancho Panza." In *Roughing It*, Mark Twain praised the "wild, free, magnificent horsemanship" of the "picturesquely-clad Mexicans." Others who worked this vein profitably were Charles Warren Stoddard, Frederic Remington, and Hamlin Garland. These writers, at least in their handling of southwestern material, tended to be superficial popularizers. However, their point was not entirely amiss. They recognized in the Mexican an element of dash and style which gave a lift to the southwestern scene.

Starting innocently enough, the romanticizing of "Spanish" aspects of the Southwest eventually produced attitudes which had serious social consequences, especially in California, which forged what has come to be known as the "California myth." The tone was set by such books as Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* and Gertrude Atherton's *The Splendid Idle Forties*. "Spanish" Californians were pictured as elegant, aristocratic representatives of an Old World tradition. When, in the twentieth century, immigrants from Mexico began to pour into California looking for any work that they could find, their ragged appearance was in sharp contrast to the images that the purveyors of the romantic

During the 1880's there was an upsurge of interest in the West touched off in part by the rapid extension of the railroads. The national magazines stimulated and served this interest by commissioning writers and artists to cover the field. In the Southwest, served by two transcontinental lines, the Indians, the towns founded by Spain, and the Spanish-speaking populations were broadly publicized. Among other artists "Harper's Weekly" published the work of Frederic Remington (see page 27) and of Charles Graham, whose sketches made near Las Vegas, New Mexico, are reproduced here to illustrate Robinson's article. From the issue of July 12, 1890.

tradition had conjured up. It was decided that the old California families were Spanish, not really Mexican. Therefore, their tradition could continue to be honored (and exploited) while people set about erecting barriers against the unwanted newcomers. The distinction between "Spanish" and "Mexican" proved serviceable. Anyone with a Spanish name who had been around for some time, spoke good English, and had some money could be declared a "member of one of our old Spanish families" and could be accepted socially. As for the "Mexicans," they were clearly an inferior breed.

Several contemporary writers have undertaken to expose the "phoniness" of the California myth and the distinction it has made between the original "Spanish" families and the present-day garden variety of Mexican. Two writers in particular have gone about this task with considerable relish, and in doing so they have produced work which transcends the level of the sociological tract and contributes honorably to the genre of protest-writing in American literature. Ruth Tuck in *Not With the Fist* draws upon population figures to dismiss the case for aristocratic Spanish purity on the part of the early settlers in the Southwest.

> By the time the colonization of the northern provinces began in earnest, racial and cultural fusion had been going on in Mexico for some three hundred years. It has been estimated that no more than 300,000 Spaniards ever came to Mexico and that most of them were men. The indigenous population of Mexico City alone was 300,000, and it was a small part of the total Indian population. The most robust Castilian gene, in such a situation, could hardly be expected to survive, unchanged, to populate Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California with descendants of "pure Spanish ancestry." But such is the fiction the romantic tradition likes to maintain.

The California myth suffers also at the hands of Carey McWilliams. In *North From Mexico*, he examines the backgrounds of the revered "Spanish" founding fathers of Los Angeles and their families. After naming the families and mentioning their various racial combinations, he sums up the situation:

> Thus of the original settlers of Our Lady the Queen of Angels, their wives included, two were Spanish; one mestizo; two were Negroes; eight were mulattoes; and nine were Indians. None of this would really matter except that the churches in Los Angeles hold fiestas rather than bazaars and that the Mexicans are still not accepted as a part of the community. When one examines how deeply this fantasy heritage has permeated the social and cultural life of the borderlands, the dichotomy begins to assume the proportion of a schizophrenic mania.

Yet certainly not even the most "romantic" of American writers on southwestern themes had ever intended that their work be used as justification for contemptuous attitudes toward ordinary Mexican-Americans in the Borderlands. Near the middle of the twentieth century, writers dealing with the Southwest sought to repair the damage by adopting a new realism and also by developing an interest in the historical realities of the Mexican presence within the borders of the United States. Why, they asked themselves, had Mexican culture suffered such a defeat in the area? What had happened to the splendid forecasts of cultural synthesis propounded by such writers as Charles F. Lummis and Mary Austin? Ironically, the most "romantic" of the earlier writers had touched upon a most poignant theme without recognizing its real significance. In pursuit of local color, these writers appropriated the trappings and customs of the aristocratic "big house" of the feudalistic Mexican families who had ruled in the Southwest before the advent of the Americans. Indeed, part of the tinge of romantic nostalgia that these writers put into their stories was achieved by giving their readers the sense that the way of life of the Mexican big house was an evanescent splendor about to disappear. However, this theme was usually treated purely for its dramatic effect with little attempt really to examine its significance in terms of the realities of southwestern society.

An exception among the earlier writers was Bret Harte. Despite his usually gaudy treatment of Hispanic themes, he wrote occasional pieces which displayed a keen recognition of what was happening as two very different cultures confronted each other in the Southwest. One of his stories, "The Passing of Enriquez," catches the essence of the tragedy of the fall of the Mexican big house. Enriquez is the last survivor of an ancient Californian family. When a silver mine is discovered upon his large estate, he enters into partnership with American entrepreneurs to develop it. When it is discovered that the mine is not all that it was thought to be, Enriquez refuses to go along with his partners in a plan to mislead potential investors. When his partners recognize that he will not cooperate, they succeed in defrauding him of his lands.

Later writers took up this theme of the dispossession of the former masters and treated it effectively within the context of historical developments in the Southwest.

In particular, two contemporary writers, both natives of New Mexico, have handled this theme with literary skill and historical accuracy. In a distinguished body of work, including short stories, novels, and cultural histories, Harvey Fergusson and Paul Horgan have dramatized the history of cultural contact, and sometimes conflict, between Mexican and Anglo-American in the Southwest. In a trilogy of novels under the general title of *Followers of the Sun*, Fergusson tells the story of the Mexican big house in the Southwest, its imposing grandeur before the American occupation, and its sudden decline and fall when faced with the new order. A memorable character in the second novel of the trilogy, *In Those Days*, is Diego Aragon, a New Mexican gallant of one of the old families, horseman extraordinary and self-possessed inheritor of a feudal and aristocratic tradition. In the early part of the book he has all his extensive land intact, leisure to pursue a life of hard riding and intricate amours, and no worries. However, with the encroachment of the "gringos," the building of the railroads, and the development of Albuquerque as a strong, Anglo-American business center, he feels the pressure increasingly. Little by little he sells his lands to maintain an aristocratic, noncommercial way of life. The end of the book finds him completely alone in the ruined family house, stripped of all lands. Fergusson generalizes on the subject of Diego's plight:

> And Diego was not alone in his ruin. Almost all of the old Mexican families had lost their money and land, had fallen to pieces just as their great houses had done. . . . With their wide lands about them, their great storerooms full of wheat and grain, their troops of servants and their prolific women, they had seemed as safe and permanent as anything man could build. But the railroad wiped them out. The Mexicans were no good at business and couldn't make money enough to keep them up. The hands of slaves had built them and kept them intact by incessant plastering. When they were deserted their mighty walls melted in the rain like sugar.

Sometimes, added to the improvidence of the Mexican landowners was the connivance of cunning "Anglos" out to seize lands from their Mexican owners. Such was the case in the last novel of Fergusson's triolgy, *Blood of the Conquerors*. A Mexican gentleman is being systematically fleeced by an unscrupulous "Anglo" partner, while his nephew, Ramon Delcasar, protagonist of the novel, helplessly watches his inheritance disappear. Another instance of the ruin of a Mexican aristocrat at the hands of the "gringos" is to be found in Paul Horgan's *The Return of the Weed*. Don Elizario's estate had been rapidly shrinking. The Don "knew it was true, and that it was a pity, that he simply wasn't smart enough to hold his money against these newcomers, these exhausting gringos. A gentleman didn't have to be smart about money, this he knew also. They got it all, of course. He saw it go, he watched their operations with a helpless affability."

The story of the fall of the Mexican big house in the American Southwest, as recorded in American literature, suggests one reason why the hoped-for cultural synthesis in that area has not yet been realized—a profound incompatibility of value systems. Not only was there considerable difference in outlook between the great Mexican landowners and the Americans who poured in to occupy the Southwest after the Mexican-American War, but there was substantial difference in attitudes toward the land between these Americans and the poor and humble Mexican "peasants" who had worked their lands for centuries before the arrival of the Americans. In his cultural history of the New Mexico–South Texas region entitled *Rio Grande*, Fergusson analyzes this difference:

> These owners of tiny farms were sometimes called paisanos—men of the country, men of the soil. And true peasants they are, perhaps the only ones that ever existed within our borders. For the peasant is a lover of the earth who asks nothing better than to live his whole life on one patch of soil, scratching it for a living, laying his bones in it at last. And there has never been much of this resigned sedentary spirit in the American farmer of the Anglo-Saxon breed. He was originally a wanderer and always an exploiter. He settles down only when there is no place else to go. He does not cherish the earth, he loves to conquer it. Always he tends to exhaust the soil and move on, whether in a few years or a few generations, as did the tobacco planters in Virginia, the cotton planters

farther south. His interest is always in a "money crop." He believes in progress and longs for change.

Other American writers have remarked upon differences in feelings about the land between Mexican and Anglo-American. The novelist Waldo Frank in *Our America* said of the Mexican that, not having the restless and exploitative ambition of the Anglo-American, he was not "an ideal pioneer." Instead "he became attached to his soil and loved it and drew pleasure and drew beauty from it." The Mexican's adobe house, according to Frank, "gives us his inner life. Here a man has settled down and sought happiness with his surroundings: sought life by cultivation rather than exploitation."

Fergusson has made the point that for the Mexican the land is loved for itself, not as a means of profit or "progress." The southwestern writer Frank Waters vivifies this aspect of Mexican psychology in his novel *People of the Valley*. An old Mexican matriarch, Maria del Valle, has become increasingly suspicious and disgruntled at plans to bulid a dam which would flood the immediate vicinity of the valley but which would, it has been pointed out to her, provide a steady water supply for the surrounding area. The valley has for centuries been subject to periodic droughts, disastrous to the people. In order for this dam to be built, however, the people would have to sell their lands to the American government, at a good price, and move elsewhere. This is the "catch," and it catches at the throats of the people, who are torn between the desire for the immediate cash, as well as their sense of the benefits the dam would bring, and the ancient sense of their own *tierra*. Maria explains to a local judge her feeling about the situation:

> I do not oppose the dam, new customs, a new vision of life; I oppose nothing. But I uphold the old ways for they are good too. I awaken in men their love for their land for they are a people of the land. It is their faith. And so I place their faith above all the lesser benefits they might derive from that which would oppose it.

When the government forces the issue, Maria will not move and dies upon her *tierra* as the dam is being constructed.

Incompatibility between Mexican and Anglo-American culture extends beyond questions of the land. It crops up in a number of important and emotionally fraught areas of life, and the expression of these differences can be traced to fundamental divergences in temperament and philosophical outlook. In an excellent anthropological study, *The Mexican-Americans of South Texas*, William Madsen discusses different approaches to adversity on the part of the two peoples.

> Suffering is . . . made acceptable to the Mexican-Americans by a strong belief in fatalism. It is generally believed that the good or bad fortune of the individual is predestined and every occurrence in human existence comes to pass because it was fated to do so. Fatalistic philosophy produces an attitude of resignation, which often convinces the Anglo that the Latin lacks drive and determination. What the Anglo tries to control, the Mexican-American tries to accept. Misfortune is something the Anglo tries to overcome and the Latin views as fate.

The differences discussed so far show the Mexican-American to be predominantly emotional and intuitive in his response and the Anglo-Saxon more abstractly rational. These differences reveal themselves in basic life patterns. According to Madsen, "proper relations between members of *La Raza* [the Mexican-Americans] involve ritual and respect patterns that are alien to the Anglo. Latin social relationships are highly formalized and life itself is seen as dramatic and ceremonial." A number of American writers have commented upon this difference in matters of social and cultural expression. To Mary Austin, the Mexican mode of life was clearly superior because it more deeply satisfied profound human needs. She remarked that anyone who had seen a religious procession on the streets of Santa Fe would have "the key to much in our English-speaking life that is mortifying and confusing. For what do our Kiwanis and Ku-Kluxers seek, with their made-up school-boy titles and their pillowcases, but to recapture the lost art of expressing dramatically the fundamental life relations which, here in our Southwest, flow naturally into

forms born of the great age of Dante and Lope de Vega?" The American philosopher F. S. C. Northrop describes the essence of the culture conflict between Mexican and Anglo-American and indicates the need for synthesis.

> What impresses as novel in Mexican culture is its highly developed appreciation of the aesthetic and its religion of the emotions; and what the Mexicans fear in the merging of their culture with that of the United States is that the latter excessively pragmatic, economically centered culture will, in its zeal for its own values, overwhelm and destroy the cultural assets of the Indian-and-Latin world. But this task of relating aesthetic and emotionally immediate religious values to scientific, doctrinal, and pragmatic values is precisely what constitutes the fundamental problem. . . .

The ceremonial aspect of social life among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans is reflected in the individual deportment of people who are products of Mexican culture. The Mexican sets a high value upon *dignidad* as a part of his personal style. He must act himself and be treated by others in accordance with a strong sense of personal honor and dignity. His mode of conduct, therefore, has not only an element of gravity but also a certain grace, deriving from a feeling for the ceremonious. To the Mexican or Mexican-American, typical Anglo-American boisterousness, however good humored or essentially innocent, is distasteful. Latin humor does not typically express itself in horseplay.

Latin attitudes toward fate, as well as the emotional, intuitive, and ceremonial approach to life have another philosophical consequence, or perhaps source. The Brazilian novelist, Erico Verissimo, has said that the differences between North Americans and Latin Americans can be summed up by the infinitives "to do" and "to be." In the researches he has made among the Mexican-Americans of Texas, William Madsen corroborates the Brazilian writer's insight:

> Acceptance and appreciation of things as they are constitute primary values of *La Raza*. Because God, rather than man, is viewed as controlling events, the Latin lacks the future orientation of the Anglo and his passion for planning ahead. . . . The Latin lives for today instead of creating a blueprint for the future. He is dedicated to living the moment to its fullest in the roles assigned to him by God.

One expression of the Latin's sense of working out assigned roles is his dedication to the concept of family life. Madsen has noted that the family is a most powerful social unit among Mexican-Americans, and by the family is meant not only the immediate family but what anthropologists call the extended family, which includes all relatives on both sides. This family constitutes a hard social core which defends its members from an outside world, generally looked upon with suspicion, if not hostility. Perhaps this sense of family solidarity against the world has derived from the history of Latin American politics, which in riding rough-shod over individuals may well have given them a sense of personal insecurity and driven them back for protection upon the only trustworthy group, the family.

However, as Madsen has indicated, the continuance of Latin American family patterns within the borders of the United States has sometimes had cramping effects upon Mexican-Americans. Since the primary loyalty is conceived of as belonging to the family, removing oneself from the family, either physically or socially and occupationally, is thought of as a kind of treason. Therefore, the sense of fealty to the family can act as an inhibiting factor to the young Mexican-American who might otherwise be ambitious, in the American sense of that word. Since the rags-to-riches theme is central in the North American mythos, we have here another case of incompatibility in value systems.

Though devotion to the family is a powerful emotion among Mexicans, there is another strain in Mexican culture which, perhaps paradoxically, is almost as powerful, the celebrated cult of Latin *machismo*. "Next to devotion to the family," writes Madsen, "the male's 'manliness' outweighs all other aspects of prestige." The concept of manliness or *machismo* among Mexicans contains a constellation of ideals, but primary among them is that of sexual virility, and not a virility to be practiced privately at home but one to be made manifest and to be continually proved. Thus it is always open season for the Mexican or Mexican-American male, and he stalks his female prey throughout the year.

Yet, in another paradoxical turn, the "respectable" Mexican woman must be virginal if she is to be considered eligible for marriage, which for her is the only acceptable career. Thus the life of the young Mexican or Mexican-American woman is precarious indeed, and many the woman of *La Raza* whose one misstep has forced her into prostitution. Small wonder that the formidable armor of chaperonage exists in Latin society!

Under such a system, the necessary concomitant to the husband's license to rove is the injunction that the wife stay put and obey. "The Latin wife," writes Madsen, "is expected to show her husband absolute respect

and obedience. . . . Her role fulfilment is seen in helping her husband to achieve his goals as he sees fit. The Latin wife must never express sorrow or anger at her husband's extramarital activities. It is understood that his sexual adventures will not threaten or weaken his devotion to the family." However, as Mexican and Anglo-American culture interact in the Southwest, this aspect of Mexican family life is coming under considerable strain. The Mexican-American woman is stirring in rebellion, and the Mexican *hombre macho* and patriarch in the Southwest must look to his laurels.

American literature has taken note of the intensity of Mexican sexual life. The early chronicles of the Southwest such as Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*, Lewis Garrard's *Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail*, and James Josiah Webb's *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade*, have condemned this activity as evidence of promiscuity and depravity among the Mexicans. Modern American writers, often engaged in a campaign against American "puritanism," have generally praised the Mexican for his earthiness, vitality, and freedom from enervating inhibitions. Bernard DeVoto, in *The Year of Decision: 1846*, twits an early southwestern chronicler, Susan Magoffin, for her prudishness before the realities of Mexican life. "Susan could not approve," he wrote, "the abandon of those dances in which the women were so fervently embraced. She was not reconciled to the native costumes which, though prettily colored, were not reticent about a woman's limbs and exposed so much of the bosom that Susan turned her eyes away from what she considered open incitation of the baser instincts." John Steinbeck's *Tortilla Flat* is but one of a number of modern American novels which praise the Mexican for the richness of his sexual life.

Though modern American novelists and poets have tended to extol the Mexican for his personalism, his emotional intensity, his sense of tradition, and his avoidance of many of the tinsel artificialities of modern American life, some American social scientists have noted aspects of Mexican culture or personality which tend to work against the Mexican-American in the general American society in which he must make his way. William Madsen comments that part of the emotionalism of the Mexican-American personality is expressed in a quickness to experience envy at another's success. Madsen's Mexican-American informants generally admitted this trait and some of them felt it to be a real handicap to their people. If the Anglo-Americans spend a good deal of their time trying to keep up with the Joneses, says Madsen, the Mexican-Americans eat their hearts out trying to drag their more successful fellows down to the level of the Garcias. One of Madsen's informants had this to say:

> My people cannot stand to see another rise above them. When I rented my own little store, my best friends became jealous. When I painted my house, my neighbors thought I was trying to shame them. And after I purchased my new car several people stopped speaking to me. Everyone tries to pull the one above him down to his own level. If you try to get ahead, you make enemies. If you don't get ahead you are criticized for laziness or stupidity. My people are hard to live with.

Madsen has also observed that the family self-sufficiency and clannishness among Mexican-Americans, by which they rely solely upon the family and look out upon the rest of the world with suspicion, often results in the refusal to accept the good offices of public health and in the refusal to join labor unions. Often Mexican-Americans will not avail themselves of any kind of public or institutional assistance. An informant said:

> The more conservative Latins are reluctant to seek help from institutions because acceptance of charity is felt to be humiliating. It reflects on the head of the household who has failed to provide and thereby weakened the strength and solidarity of the family.

Modern American novelists have often found attractive and salutary in the Mexican character its individuality and personalism. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans seem to have escaped the blight of impersonality which has affected the modern industrial world. Even business relations among Mexicans are strongly tinged with subjective attitudes and personal feeling. The psychologist Arnold Meadow, in reporting upon the results of his research, has compared ways of handling situations in banking among Mexicans proper, Mexican-Americans, and Anglo-Americans. Among the Mexicans such values as personal friendship weigh heavily and are often more important than questions of efficiency or objective treatment of customers. Among Mexican-Americans in banking, an acute culture conflict is sometimes experienced, especially at first, before a reluctant adjustment is made in the direction of Anglo-American standards of objective, dispassionate, and efficient treatment of people and affairs. Dr. Meadow comments that perhaps Mexican-Americans in making their adjustment to Anglo ways are losing important human values. However, one might add that not only efficiency but probably justice is gained in the exchange.

Much of the foregoing has devoted itself to a review of value conflicts between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans. What then of the synthesis envisioned by Walt Whitman and by Mary Austin and Charles F. Lummis? In certain undeniable ways, Mexico has already left its impress upon the American Southwest. In rural areas, especially, Mexican influence is strong even though often unacknowledged. It is visible in many facets of daily life, in the mud adobe bricks used for building, in fences made of mesquite branches, in food, in place names, and in the words used for common articles of daily usage. It is especially strong in anything to do with the raising and marketing of cattle, that basic and traditional industry of the Southwest. The Mexican vaquero or cowboy was a type developed in over three hundred years of conditioning in a highly specialized environment. He passed on his techniques, vocabulary, and lore to the Anglo-American cattlemen of the Southwest. Tom Lea in *The King Ranch* writes:

> The Mexican vaqueros became the prototypes who furnished the ready-made tools, the range techniques, even the lingo, from which sprang the cowboy of song and story. The Mexican haciendas provided the primal outlines for the pattern which produced the later Cattle Kingdom of the American West

Edward Larocque Tinker in his book *The Horsemen of the Americas and the Literature They Inspired* also acknowledges the valuable apprenticeship which the American cowboy received at the hands of the Mexican vaquero. He goes into some detail about vocabulary:

> Even the cowboys' work-a-day vocabulary is still generously peppered, in the Southwest, with Spanish words. He wears a *sombrero* and *chaps* (chaparreros), his stirrups are protected by *tapacieros*, and his lariat (from la riata) has a *hondo* on the end, he rides a bronco when he works a rodeo, and disciplines it with a quirt. His saddle has *cinchas, latigos*, and *alforjas*; he calls his string of ponies a *remuda* and the equine stock of a ranch a *caballada*, which he often shortens to cavvy. He has twisted the word *mesteno* into mustang, the generic term for the descendants of Spanish horses, and savvy, a corruption of *sabe*, is understood by everyone. .

The mining industry in the Southwest received not only techniques but also vocabulary from the Mexicans, including mining's most famous word, *bonanza*. In *The Big Bonanza*, Dan De Quille devoted three pages to a glossary of Mexican mining terms in general use in the Washoe territory. In his linguistic and, by extension, sociological study, *A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English With Special Reference to the American Southwest*, Harold W. Bentley records the impressive amount of language borrowing that has occurred.

Many communities in the Southwest, in their architecture and city layouts, bear the stamp of Mexican influence. In that early classic of American writing on Mexico, *Viva Mexico!*, Charles M. Flandrau writes of the Mexican plaza in a way that could be applied to many a southwestern town, such as Santa Fe and San Antonio:

> The plaza is in constant use from morning until late at night. . . . By eleven o'clock at night the whole town will, at various hours, have passed through it, strolled in it, played, sat, rested, talked, or thought in it. . . . The plaza is a kind of social clearinghouse—a resouce—a solution. I know of nothing quite like it, and nothing as fertile in the possibilities of innocent diversion.

Certainly, borrowings from Mexican culture there have been aplenty. But, as Flandrau has said elsewhere in his book, all too often the Americans will "accept the best of everything in Mexico" and yet "stupidly deny its attraction for them, repudiate their sympathy with it." If the Mexican is himself rejected or "invisible" in the Southwest despite the many linguistic and physical reminders of his presence, despite the fact that it is he who has given real savor to the land, are there still possibilities of any significant cultural fusion? The value conflicts are indeed formidable. Any real rapprochement will require a moving toward each other from both sides. Here again, the novelists have spoken.

In *People of the Valley*, Frank Waters presents a character who exhibits a subtle fusion of the two cultures. He is Don Eliseo, a Mexican-American judge. He understands and respects much of the ideal of impersonal justice stemming from the English common law, and he also understands deeply the subjectivism and personalism of his own people. Standing astride two traditions, he is a successful mediator between the two cultures because he has formed within himself a working synthesis. Old Maria del Valle, in rebuking a granddaughter for having mocked the "gringos," says:

> Yes, they are ignorant of some things as we Spanish-Americans are ignorant of others. So do not condemn them unjustly. When we both see all, then will there be no difference between us. . . . The good judge; was he not a ragged little chamaco? Is he not respected now by the Anglos perhaps more than by us? Simply because his eyes, through learning, have seen both ways.

Henry Fergusson treats the subject of cultural synthesis in *The Conquest of Don Pedro*, a delightful and

significant novel of New Mexico in transition. A Jewish shopkeeper, Leo Mendes, representing an unsung type of western pioneer, takes an interest in a bright Mexican girl, Magdalena, while she is still a child. Leo, not without some qualms, begins giving the girl reading matter of a scientific and natural history type, of which he knows her parents will not approve. In thinking of the probable future of quick-minded Magdalena, Leo feels a kind of resignation.

By the time she was sixteen . . . she might be married, often to a husband chosen by her parents and always to one approved by them. Mexican women in general accepted this destiny with grace and resignation, as the will of God, but Leo felt that it was probably going to be difficult for Magdalena, with her rebellious temper, her love of action and her versatile curiosity. For curiosity in particular there seemed to be no place in a life of faith and status. It was essentially an unquestioning life.

However, when Magdalena marries, it is to Leo himself, her mentor. Yet in a matter of a few years Magdalena becomes totally absorbed in a young and impressive-looking Texan named Robert Coppinger. He is from people who are "much like her own in everything but race—cattle people who own the earth and have the habit of command." With characteristic detachment, Leo recognizes that his relationship with Magdalena has always been essentially paternal. He made way for the younger man. Magdalena represents the result of the impact of two cultures. Leo Mendes, the wandering Jew, was for her a kind of catalytic agent between these two societies. Without consciously meaning to exploit him, she sought him instinctively as the way to freedom, and

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In his western scenes Charles Graham often [illegible] images and town views rather than the cowboys-and-Indians approach so typical of Remington. This view of the interior of the church at the Pueblo of Acoma, New Mexico, has been called one of the best of Graham's illustrations. "Harper's Weekly," August 2, 1890. See article by Robert M. Quinn, "Spanish Colonial Style."

Kino on the Arizona Border

Bronze of Eusebio Francisco Kino by Suzanne Silvercruys, placed in National Statuary Hall, 1965

Edited by Bert M. Fireman, translation by Fay Jackson Smith

On February 14, 1965, a bronze statue of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Jesuit missionary, explorer, and mapmaker, was unveiled in Washington, D.C. Father Kino was the third Catholic missionary honored by election to National Statuary Hall. The first was Father Jacques Marquette, and, like Kino, a member of the Society of Jesus. Contemporaries of the late seventeenth century, Marquette carried the gospel and crucifix to the Great Lakes and the Old Northwest, while Kino labored in the deserts of the Southwest. The second missionary honored was the Franciscan Junipero Serra, one of the founders of Alta California. The Spanish occupation of Alta California in 1769 was based on frontiers stabilized by the Jesuits in Baja California and in Sonora and Arizona.

Kino's remarkable explorations from 1687 to 1711 in Sonora and Arizona (together then called Pimería Alta) did much to correct some of the distortions then current about the geography of the Pacific Coast. The most dramatic of these held that California was an island. During the course of a number of exploratory ventures in the vicinity of the head of the Gulf of California between 1698 and 1706, Father Kino revealed the error and drew maps to correct it. Thus he helped to open the way for the colonization of Alta California; it could be reached by sea or by land from the Arizona border.

Father Kino's contributions attracted the attention of the late Herbert Eugene Bolton, progenitor of the significance of the Spanish Borderlands in North American history. Bolton and numbers of his students have studiously followed Kino's footsteps through Baja California, Sonora, and Arizona. Two of Bolton's important works were devoted to the Jesuit missionary and explorer: his translation of Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta *. . . was published in 1919 and his* Rim of Christendom *. . ., a definitive biography of Kino, appeared in 1936. A sketch of the Jesuit's work in the Pimería was published by Bolton in 1932 under the title,* The Padre on Horseback*; a new edition, edited by John Francis Bannon, was issued in 1963.*

Indeed the impact of the frontier "padre on horseback" may be measured by the lengthening list of important books written about him. The Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society at Tucson in 1965 published a work of distinguished scholarship by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain, *a beautiful limited edition from the press of Lawton Kennedy. Father Burrus has studied in detail Kino's principal cartographical contributions, including the lasting influence of his maps. Among the numerous maps selected to illustrate the book, Father Burrus has reproduced an early copy of Kino's 1710 map which summarizes the Jesuit's geographical and cartographical contributions. That map, through the courtesy of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, is reproduced here.*

This fall the Arizona Historical Foundation at Phoenix will issue Father Kino in Arizona *by Fay Jackson Smith, John L. Kessell, and Francis Fox, S.J. This will be a first publication in English of the missionary's diary of his memorable journey through the Papago country of Arizona and Sonora in 1698. By arrangement with the publisher, excerpts from that book are published here. Editorial comment was written especially for* THE AMERICAN WEST *by Bert M. Fireman (bracketed material is his). Fay Jackson Smith made the translations from the original Kino manuscript, located in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.* *The Editors*

PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSH, OTTAWA

[On September 22, 1698, after summer rains had refilled the water holes and arroyos of Pimería Alta, Father Kino set out from his mission headquarters at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (Our Lady of the Sorrows), on a journey of conversion and discovery. In twenty-seven days he would march all the way to the northwestern frontier of New Spain, to the Gila River, and then turn southwestward, to climb a volcanic peak within eyesight of the mouth of the Colorado River. He chronicled this journey in his *Relación Diaria*, never before published in English, although used by Bolton and others. From the lava-strewn lip of the crater of Pinacate he could see a line of trees marking the Colorado River's entry into the Gulf of California. He thought it was the Gila, which he identified as the Rio Grande. He was on the verge of establishing the geographical fact that California was part of the North American mainland. The journey foreshadowed his assertion four years later that California "*no es isla.*"]

Although for some months I have had very poor health, and even yet find myself with little strength, I prepared the necessary pack animals and food and some little gifts for the natives. September 22, the day of the

Most Holy Name of the Most Holy Mary (since the fathers appointed did not go) I undertook this journey with Captain Diego Carrasco (for whom, for that purpose, I was successful in obtaining the lieutenancy of this Pimería from the military governor of this Province of Sonora, Don Domingo Petris de Cruzat) and with the governor of this pueblo and with other servants of mine [I undertook this journey] under the protection of the Most Holy Trinity, of St. Francis Xavier and of the blessed souls in Purgatory, leaving in the afternoon from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores for Nuestra Señora de los Remedios with 25 pack animals. Another 40 had been sent on ahead five days before that they might be waiting for us refreshed at San Xavier del Bac. Another 20 I ordered to leave in ten days to meet us to the west at La Concepción del Caborca. After traveling seven leagues we arrived at this second pueblo of the visita.

Eight days previously we had enjoyed the fiesta of the placing of an opulent statue of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios in her new, decorated chapel with a crowd of some Spanish gentlemen and with all the principal chiefs of this entire Pimería. There were 12 captains, 21 governors, and 27 other justices, alcaldes, topiles, and fiscales. . . .

On saying goodbye to everyone at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, I gave them the necessary notice that eight days afterward I was coming to see them, entering through the north and northwest, taking a turn through the new rancherías of the seacoast, through La Concepción and the lands of [Captain] Soba. . . .

[Traveling northward, Father Kino entered present Arizona east of the Santa Cruz Valley and the present border town of Nogales. He visited the small mission outposts of Guevavi and Tumacacori.]

On the 26th, having traveled almost exactly 12 leagues, we arrived at San Xavier del Bac at about four in the afternoon where such great numbers of very friendly and affectionate natives received us that the lieutenant was astonished. Since the previous year it was well known that this ranchería has more than 160 houses and more than 800 souls. We found here the 40 pack animals, mostly mules, we had sent ahead, also a band of mares and 30 head of cattle and a harvest of 50 fanegas of wheat and corn. They were undertaking a new planting of wheat, all for the father who for years they have been wishing to receive. We killed two beeves, one for the people and the other to carry meat on our

(Right) Route map of Kino's exploration in 1698 through Arizona and Sonora—the Pimeria Alta of his day. (Below) Kino's 1698 manuscript Relación Diaria *open at the place where he records his views of the Gulf of California from the mountain of Santa Brigida, now Pinacate. From the original in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.*

trip. They were very fat, the pasturage being very abundant. We sent ahead news of our arrival here to La Casa [Grande] and Rio Grande and of our going up there on the 27th because today we stopped to dry the meat. . . .

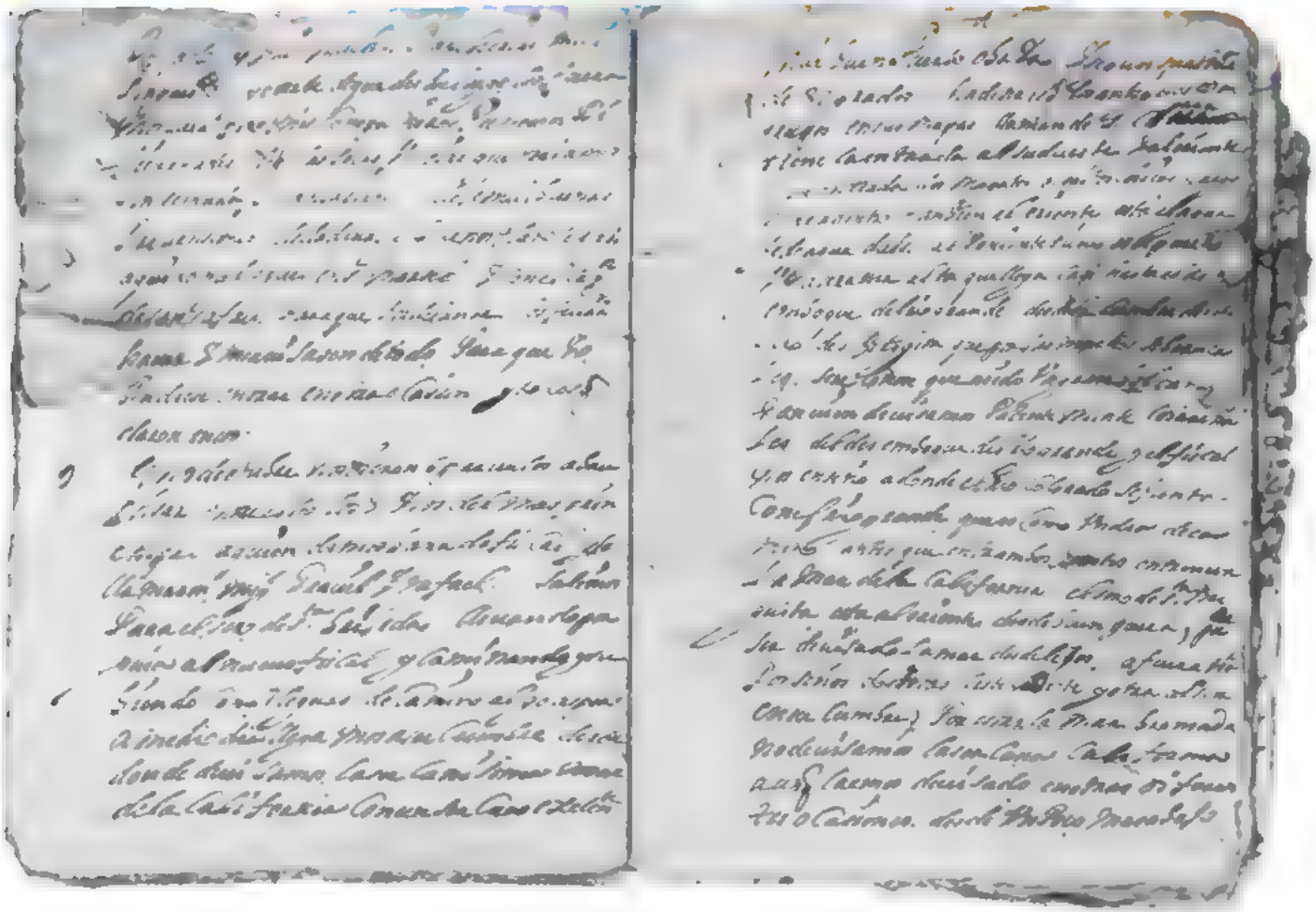
[Kino and his small entourage moved at a leisurely pace westerly along the Gila River for two days, coming within a few miles of present-day Phoenix. Then he turned south-southwest across Papaguería. He was the first white man the Papago Indians had seen in their own barren land. The largest settlement north of the present international boundary was San Francisco de Adid, now called Santa Rosa, and still inhabited by the Papagos.]

On the first day of October I went down toward the west with three servants, eager to climb a hill which was in sight; to see from the summit the lands and rancherías nearby; and [to see] if the tidewater itself might be seen; and [to see] the most convenient road to take to see where the Rio Grande empties into the Sea of California. On this road I saw some rancherías and two other large houses, but they were already more tumbled down than Montezuma's. . . .

The new governor of San Bonifacio and 26 of his men accompanied us to San Francisco de Adid. We knew how this same governor with many of his men had been the one who had helped Captain Coro, in great friendship, in March of this year of '98, whom he had joined at Quiburi to win the remarkable victory against the Jocomes, Sumas, Mansos and Apaches, for the peace and quiet of the whole Province of Sonora.

The many Indians of San Francisco de Adid received us with many kindnesses, sending several messengers to meet us with many, many foods prepared and with many torches, since we arrived after vespers. More than 700 souls were together in lines, placed as in the Christian villages. The row of men was 150 varas long and that of the women more than 90, both packed with boys, girls, and infants. . . .

[PHOENIX]
GILA RIVER
CASA GRANDE
SANTA CRUZ RIVER
SAN FRANCISCO DEL ADID [SANTA ROSA]
[TUCSON]
SAN XAVIER DEL BAC
SAN SERGIO [QUITOBAQUITO]
Sierra del Pinacate
SAN RAFAEL DEL ACTUN [AKCHIN]
SANTA BRIGIDA
SAN MARCELLO DEL SONOIDAG [SONOYTA]
TUMACACORI
GUEVAVI
[NOGALES]
SONORA
RIO ALTAR
LA CONCEPCIÓN DEL CABORCA
TUBUTAMA
QUITOTA
NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS REMEDIOS
SAN DIEGO DEL PITIQUIN
SANTA MAGDALENA
NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOS DOLORES
ARIZPE



Through his explorations in Sonora and Arizona from 1687 to 1711, Father Kino corrected some of the current extravagant notions about Pacific Coast geography such as the fantasy of an insular California as portrayed (above) by the French cartographer N. Sanson d'Abbeville in 1667. In 1710, just before his death, Kino drew a map incorporating the sum of his geographical findings. It was lost but in 1962 Ernest J. Burrus discovered a 1724 copy (left) that had been prepared for publication in the D'Anville collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

[The route turned more westerly as Kino stopped at the numerous settlements of the Papago people, baptizing their children, handing out staffs of justice, preaching the word of God, and generously calculating the number of conversions to the Holy Faith.]

On the 6th we set out for San Rafael del Actun Grande [now called Akchin and located about six miles north of the Mexican border] **finding a very good water hole on the road. After 13 leagues we arrived at three in the afternoon. The chiefs came out four leagues to receive us, and more than 400 souls received us with the greatest expression of friendship, as had the previous ones, giving us still more and more pitahayas on the road, as also at the rancheria. Having spoken the word of God to them in the afternoon they gave us 85 little**

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The WESTERN STOCK SADDLE

Saddle Illustrations and Text by Paul A. Rossi

THE WESTERN STOCK SADDLE

EMERGED FROM THOSE SADDLES WHICH CARRIED THE SPANISH CONQUERORS INTO MEXICO AT THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1

SPANISH WAR SADDLE, 1530. Among the saddles brought to the New World by the Spaniards were the ponderous armored war saddles built primarily to give riders a firm seat. The pommel and cantle (front and back) were high and curved in, not unlike the swell-fork saddle of the bronc rider developed centuries later. At the time of the conquest of America two forms of riding were popular among Spaniards. *A la brida*, or the style of riding with the legs straight, common for soldiers, was necessary when using heavy armor. The other style, *a la jineta*, was first observed during the Spanish engagements against the Moors who rode light Turkish-designed saddles. This saddle was placed well up on the withers using both stirrup leathers; the rider's knees were bent and could be brought up to brace under the swell of the fork. This style was quickly adopted by the Spaniards, and it was used by Cortés in the conquest of the Aztecs.

The Spanish War Saddle, however, was a modified version of the Moorish war saddle and was built to accommodate both styles of riding. The seat and inside of pommel and cantle were padded, usually in bright velvet. Skirts were commonly embroidered or brocaded velvet. Metal work was etched with varied designs and pictures. These saddles were single-cinch rigs used with cruppers and breast collars.

2

MEXICAN RANCHERO SADDLE, 1770. While modified war saddles and many of the old *la jineta* rigs from Spain served the early Mexican rancheros for a time, it remained for Don Luis de Velasco, the second viceroy to New Spain in 1560, to develop the *silla vaquera*, or Mexican saddle.

The Mexican rigs of the 1600's and 1700's went through a variety of changes in an attempt to develop a saddle design and construction suitable to the hard use of handling wild or half-wild stock. Though many of the saddles of the period were highly ornate, soft woods, poor-grade leather and poor construction combined to make them inferior for heavy work. With a rawhide-covered tree and strong rigging below the pommel, this saddle fairly well met these requirements. Also, a sturdy snub for roping cattle and horses led to the development of the larger saddle horn. The removable leather covering shown was termed a *camiseta*. The covering under it—the *anquera*—was also detachable. A larger cover, the *mochila*, could be placed over the *camiseta*. The slots cut into the cantle of this saddle were common on most Mexican saddles of the period. From the shoe stirrup of the conquest period the Mexican ranchero developed the heavy T-shaped stirrup shown. Though far from ideal, this type rig was a basic style for some time.

3

CALIFORNIA MISSION SADDLE, 1800. Although the American "cowboy" is thought to have originated in Texas during the 1850's, the honors rightly should go to the California vaquero who was working cattle decades earlier on what is now American soil. The Spaniards who occupied California in 1769 brought with them foundation herds of livestock. The need for vaqueros to handle mission stock was met by training local Indians for the job.

The saddle used by this mission vaquero was built on the common Mexican tree and covered with rawhide. Occasionally metal was employed in the stirrup as in earlier styles, but more often a solid-wood stirrup was used. On the California frontier, goat skins were common in place of the more refined leather *camiseta* along with other variations. Many frontier saddles were crudely made, but as the pioneer period passed, *talabarteros*, saddlemakers from Mexico, were brought in, and the refinement of the California vaquero saddle began.

4

MEXICAN RANCHERO SADDLE, 1827. The vaquero of this period began to refine his dress, method of working stock, and his saddle. The Spanish rig was not suitable for working in the rough country of the frontier. After some experimenting, the Californians adopted the center-fire rig. Unlike the Spanish rig where the leathers to the cinch descended from the bow or fork of the saddle, the center-fire leathers came from the bow and cantle and met in a line with the center of the saddle with a single cinch. This arrangement kept the back of the saddle from rising when the vaquero was working and roping in rough country. Thus, about the time the United States acquired the Mexican territories in the West, the Spanish rig had been replaced by this center-fire "California Rig." It still retained the removable leather coverings, the *anquera*, *camiseta*, *mochila*, and the *coginillos*. This latter piece was a large ornate covering used on formal occasions. The stirrups were covered with *tapaderas*.

These California rigs reached their height of development during the period from the 1820's to the 1840's and in this writer's opinion were the finest saddles produced in North America. They possessed a simple elegance not matched since that time. Although in predominance in California, they were also in use in southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico at this same time. An example is illustrated in a contemporary watercolor by Lino Sánchez y Tapia who accompanied the Berlandier expedition to the Texas border in 1827 (see page 26).

5

TEXAS SADDLE, 1850. By the 1850's Texas cowboys were beginning to make significant changes in the frontier saddle. Notice that the craftsman has reduced the size of the horn, raised the height of the fork and cantle and changed the rigging from California or Spanish single rig to the double rig. Inner leather skirts and fenders were added, and the boxcar stirrup was developed. Often the tree was covered with leather, while the fork with its rawhide cover was left exposed. This was at times reversed with the fork being leather-covered. The preferred heavier, more substantial Mexican tree was also used with changes in rigging, fenders, and stirrups. With these modifications the pattern was set for saddles east of the continental divide for years to come, while the California style predominated in the Far West and Northwest.

The Santa Fe Saddle of this period was merely a variation of the California rig. It was made in St. Louis and California and was a favorite of the mountain man. In contemporary accounts it was referred to as the California Saddle and was one item of trade on the Santa Fe Trail. The Santa Fe Saddle reflected more of the Spanish style than did the Texas Saddle of 1850 which was basically of American design.

6

MOTHER HUBBARD SADDLE, 1870. During the boom years in the range cattle industry after the Civil War, new features were added to the stock saddle. The Spanish removable *mochila* was adopted for a short time, but it soon evolved into the Mother Hubbard in the late 1860's with the *mochila* being stitched in place and not removable. The illustration also shows the all-leather stirrup of the period. A Clark bucking roll is tied behind the pommel to add a swell to the slick fork. This feature, which helped the rider stay in the saddle, has its parallels in the Spanish War Saddle of 1530. Prior to the adoption of the bucking roll, cowboys frequently used jackets, slickers, tree branches, or anything handy. This particular saddle illustrated was made by Frank Meanea, who in the 1880's developed the Cheyenne roll cantle still used on many stock saddles today. During this time, saddlemakers like Gallatin, Meanea, Collins, Frazier, Gallup, Heiser, Myres, Porter, and others became bywords throughout the range areas.

The saddle commonly used on the ranges of the central Rockies was often known as the Plains Saddle, but it followed the basic Mother Hubbard styling into the 1880's and 1890's. Distinguishing features of the Plains Saddle included the removal of the full Mother Hubbard and the addition of sheepskin-lined skirts and jockeys; the cantle and half of the seat were leather-covered and the front rigging was exposed. Saddles were better constructed for more comfort to both horse and rider. As a type they represented a peak in western saddlery.

7

CALIFORNIA CENTER-FIRE SADDLE, 1905. While the Texas-style saddle became entrenched in the Rocky Mountain states and was developed into the Plains style, in the Far West and Northwest the Spanish influence remained stronger in the development of saddles. Typical of this influence is the Ahlstrom and Gunther saddle illustrated, built in Lakeview, Oregon, on a visalia tree. This style began in the Far West about the same time the Mother Hubbard was moving north with the great cattle drives. The rounded skirts, as opposed to the square style developed on the plains, represented a Spanish influence which came in about 1895. The Eagle Bill Tapaderas shown reached the length of twenty-six inches or more.

In Montana during the 1890's the two lines of saddles—the Oregon-built California style and the Plains model—converged, and a new design blending the two appeared. The Montana-style saddle found ready acceptance, and from Miles City where it was developed it spread through the western cattle country though it was most prominent in the northern Rockies.

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SWELL-FORK PLAINS SADDLE, 1920. The first swell-fork saddle appeared about 1902. Originating in Oregon, it quickly spread throughout the cattle country; by 1940 few saddlemakers were still manufacturing the slick-fork saddle. The design of the swell, a reminder of the Spanish War Saddle, varied according to individual taste. The width of the swell sometimes grew to astounding proportions.

The saddle illustrated here was built by Frazier of Denver, and its swell measures twenty-four inches, the widest known to this writer, although twenty- and twenty-one-inch swells were relatively common. An average was fifteen inches. The nickel and brass horn was also developed in the Northwest. This saddle well illustrates the blending of California and Plains styles; it retains the double cinch of the Plains and the rounded skirts of the California saddle.

About 1930 the now standard low roping saddle first appeared in response to demands of rodeo contestants who needed to unload fast and dude riders who found the flat padded cantle comfortable. In Mexico, while the design has undergone less change than its American counterpart, the tendency in the last thirty years has been to use lower roping type rigs. However, saddles of older design are still used on the ranges by working cowboys.

Although there are likely to be changes in saddle design in the future, standardization has ended those days when one could tell what part of the country a rider hailed from by the rig he rode.

NEXT PAGE, "TEXAS RANCHERO"

WATERCOLOR BY LINO SÁNCHEZ Y TAPIA

Jean Louis Berlandier, a French scientist residing in Mexico, in 1827 was appointed by the Mexican government to the commission to survey the boundary between Mexico and the United States in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of 1819. During the course of his survey which included northern Mexico, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, Berlandier prepared a two-volume description of the numerous Indian groups visited along the routes of travel. The work was written in French and was never published. Berlandier was accompanied by an artist, Lino Sánchez y Tapia who painted thirty-eight watercolors of Indians and Europeans on the northern frontier of Mexico. His portrayals are among the earliest known, and they are of high ethnological and historical significance. Sánchez y Tapia had an eye for dress, costume, equipment, and weapons. Details in his "Texas Ranchero" help to fill out the history of the development of the western stock saddle. From the collections of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa.

Rancharo de Texas

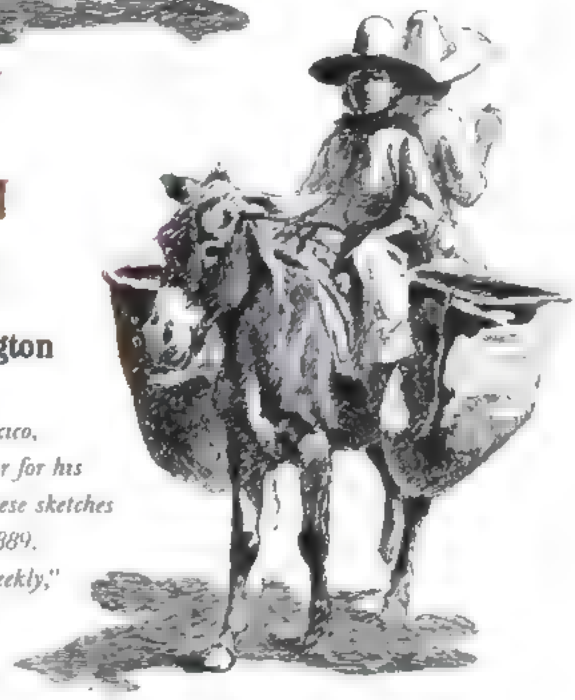
A Family Affair

MEXICAN BURROS

by Frederic Remington

In the Southwest and Mexico, Remington found subject matter for his pen and brush on every hand. These sketches were done in Mexico in 1889. Adapted from "Harper's Weekly," November 30, 1889

A Point of View



An Equine Freight Car

"Pulque"

CAUGHT IN THE OPEN. FROM AN ORIGINAL OIL PAINTING BY CAL PETERS

SOLDIERING AT THE END OF THE WORLD

By Odie B. Faulk

and Sidney B. Brinckerhoff

The Amangual Expedition, bound from San Antonio to Santa Fe and back again in the spring of 1808, did not get under way as early as usual on the morning of May 17. One of the Indian guides that morning was missing a small iron chain which he had mounted on a quirt, so Captain Francisco Amangual ordered a search of every soldier's belongings, as well as the baggage of the entire train. The missing object was discovered in the possession of Private Faustino Lozano. Amangual immediately ordered assembly sounded, and the soldiers formed in a circle. Beyond them, watching impassively, were a number of Comanche warriors who had gathered to see Spanish justice at work. Lozano was brought to the middle of the circle, stripped of his shirt, and tied to a post. A lieutenant stated the crime in a loud voice for the benefit of the assembled

troops; whereupon a corporal administered twenty-five lashes to the pilfering private. During the remainder of the trek to Santa Fe and return to San Antonio, Lozano was held under arrest.

Such incidents of seemingly harsh discipline were common in the frontier army of northern New Spain during the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. Less than a thousand soldiers stationed in fifteen to twenty presidios guarded an area larger than most of Europe—an area inhabited by many thousand nomadic and fickle savages—and harsh measures were sometimes necessary. These soldiers were part of the three-pronged Spanish attack on the wilderness, a plan of conquest that involved the presidio, the mission, and the civil settlement. Each arm had played a vital part in the push northward from Mexico City that had resulted in the permanent settlement of New Mexico in 1598, Arizona in the 1690's, Texas in 1716, California in 1769.

Until the 1770's the mission was the major agency of frontier colonization. Following the Seven Years' War, however, it became obvious that drastic changes were necessary; the Spanish royal treasury was badly drained owing to the European conflicts, and the mission was incapable of subduing the majority of the Indians in the northern provinces. The lordly Comanches and the fierce Apaches did not take to sedentary mission life; they would not give up the warpath for the plow. Even among normally peaceful tribes in this region there were occasional rebellions. In 1751, for example, the Pimas of Arizona staged a bloody uprising, as had New Mexican natives in 1680, and the Texas Indians in 1693. Even in California, usually pictured as a pastoral paradise, Indian difficulties often occurred.

As a result of the failure of the missions to civilize, Christianize, and Hispanicize the natives, and to correct a number of other problems, the king in 1772 decreed the Royal Regulation of Presidios, a compilation of laws intended to bring about a pacification of the Indians by force of arms. The mission and civil settlement would continue to play a part in frontier colonization, but their roles henceforth would be secondary. Four years later, in 1776, came administrative changes designed for the same purpose. The northern tier of provinces of New Spain was separated from the viceroy's control; now designated as the "Interior Provinces," they were placed under a commandant general who combined in his office civil, judicial, and military powers. Yet his effectiveness was limited from the first by a decision that he would be dependent upon the viceroy for supplies and troops. That proviso alone almost nullified the intent of the Royal Regulations, especially when Spain's involvement in European wars between 1779 and 1815 created a pressing need for men and money.

Thus, in the Spanish effort to control the Indians in the Interior Provinces, the emphasis was placed on stronger provincial command, on the relocation of presidios, and on improved logistics and supply. But Spanish officials often overlooked the fact that the strategic locations of the presidios would prove of less importance than the competence of the soldiers garrisoning them; it mattered little where an order originated if it were not carried into effect. The fighting capacity of each private, corporal, sergeant, and officer was the factor that would mean the difference between victory and defeat in engagements with hostile Indians. And in the years between 1772 and 1786, defeat came more often than victory. This ineffectiveness of the Spanish army in the Interior Provinces has led to many erroneous conclusions—that the average Spaniard was cowardly, that high officers were failures, and that incompetence characterized the common soldier. Actually the presidial troops of the Interior Provinces had great potential as well as courage and resourcefulness.

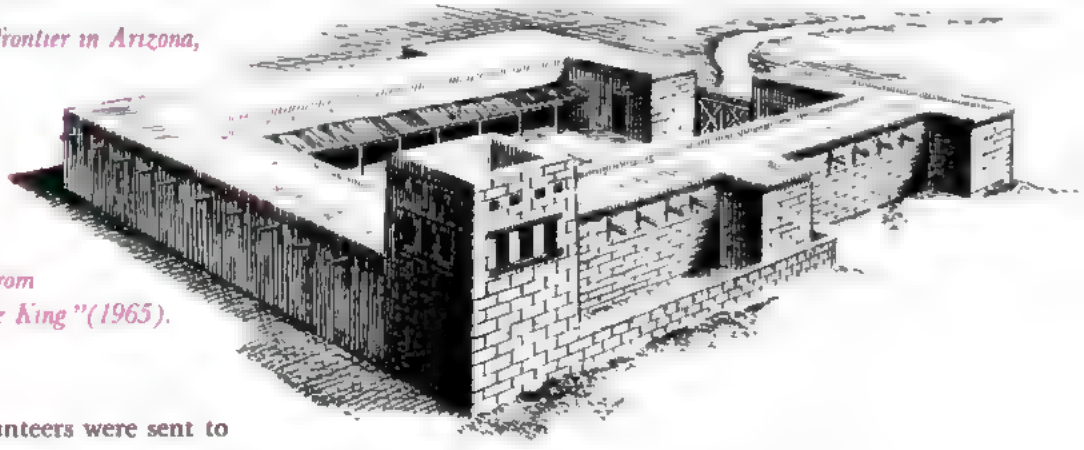
Recruitment of the Spanish frontier army was carried out almost entirely within the Interior Provinces, and the troops enlisted for ten-year terms. They were generally excellent horsemen and were accustomed to the harsh climate and the crude frontier conditions. They had been subjected to close discipline all their lives, for the Spanish system, especially on the frontier, allowed little economic, religious, or social deviation. Most of these troops were mestizos, or half-breeds, and came from poor families. They joined the army because it was the best life open to them. A soldier had steady employment, retirement benefits, a pension for his widow in case of his death, and access to the only skilled medical attention on the frontier. There was also the chance of promotion, for most junior officers in the Interior Provinces had risen through the ranks. Captain Francisco Amangual, for example, had enlisted as a private in 1762 and had been commissioned in 1786; he was a captain in 1808 when he led the expedition from San Antonio to Santa Fe and back.

In addition to the other benefits of soldiers, a trooper could easily obtain land near the presidio where he was stationed. In fact, the Spanish system encouraged such

practice, for the officials at Mexico City and at Madrid hoped the soldiers would remain near the presidios after discharge and contribute to the colonization of the region. For his services the newly enlisted soldier received 290 pesos annually [a peso was worth approximately one dollar]. From this he received one-fourth peso daily for his and his family's subsistence. The remainder was kept by the paymaster to be used to purchase the horses, articles of uniform, armament, and equipment needed; and twenty pesos were withheld from his pay annually for five years as a contingency fund to be given him at discharge.

Unlike the regular Spanish army, the troops of the Interior Provinces were enlisted into presidial garrisons and had no regimental or larger unit designations. The viceroy at Mexico City was not inclined to release soldiers of the regular army for frontier service, although infantrymen of the Catalonian Volunteers were sent to California in 1769, and some dragoons of Mexico served in Sonora in the 1780's. When a large force was needed for a frontier campaign, the troops were drawn from the various presidios, but each kept his presidial designation. At each presidio the Royal Regulations prescribed four officers, including a chaplain, forty-three enlisted men, and ten Indian scouts; however, the complement often was considerably smaller in actual practice. Although all the high-ranking and some of the junior officers were from Spain, the army essentially was colonial. Nevertheless, by royal decree its men were to be accorded the ranks and privileges of the regular Spanish army. This practice, as well as the benefits mentioned, should have contributed to a high *esprit de corps*, a pride in the local unit not attainable in any other way. Yet such was not the case.

The training of new soldiers was prescribed by the Royal Regulations of 1772, but in actuality it varied from presidio to presidio. The captains were expected to drill their men in the handling of firearms, in target practice, in mounted tactics, and in military discipline and procedures. Weekly reviews were to be held to inspect equipment and to see that unserviceable items were replaced. But in many cases these regulations were disregarded, and the new soldier learned his profession from his fellow enlisted men in barracks discussions. Training in warfare most often came on the field of combat against the enemy. Besides the poor training he received, the new soldier quickly discovered that the isolation of his post meant that he was subject in many ways to the whims of his officers. The practice of paying soldiers partly in cash and partly in goods accrued to the benefit of the paymasters, presidial officers, and local merchants, many of whom connived together to set exorbitantly high prices for goods of inferior quality. The temptation for officers to engage in this practice was strong since inspections were rare, punishment for those caught was light, and the example of others getting rich was ever at hand. Shorting the soldiers on their tobacco ration and then selling them the remainder was another favorite practice. Paymasters frequently spent the money entrusted to them for pay purposes so that deficits were common and salaries often in arrears. Because of these abuses, the soldiers received so little money that they and their families lived on the edge of starvation, their equipment deteriorated, and they developed a morale, as one inspector declared, "shot through with insubordination."



Presidio of Tubac, on Spain's northern frontier in Arizona, founded after the Pima revolt in 1751. Actually walled settlements, Spain's outposts housed soldiers and their families and served as refuge for neighboring settlers. Often a church and small shops were attached. An artist's conception by Don Bufkin, from Brinckerhoff and Faulk, "Lancers for the King" (1965).

Corporal punishment was still observed in the garri-

sons, inflicted by the same officers against whom an offense was committed and who sat in judgment on the culprits. The sentencing of criminals to terms in the presidial armies was a common practice; even the presidial troops themselves when convicted of a crime were given additional terms in the army of six to eight years without pay. And there were vexing interferences in the private lives of the common soldiers. A trooper could not marry without the permission of his presidial commander. Sergeant Juan Martinez, for example, married without permission at the presidio of La Bahia del Espiritu Santo in Texas in 1801 and as a result was suspended from duty for six months without pay. Nor could a discontented soldier transfer to another presidio without the consent of his commanding office, and approval was difficult to secure since most posts were short on personnel.

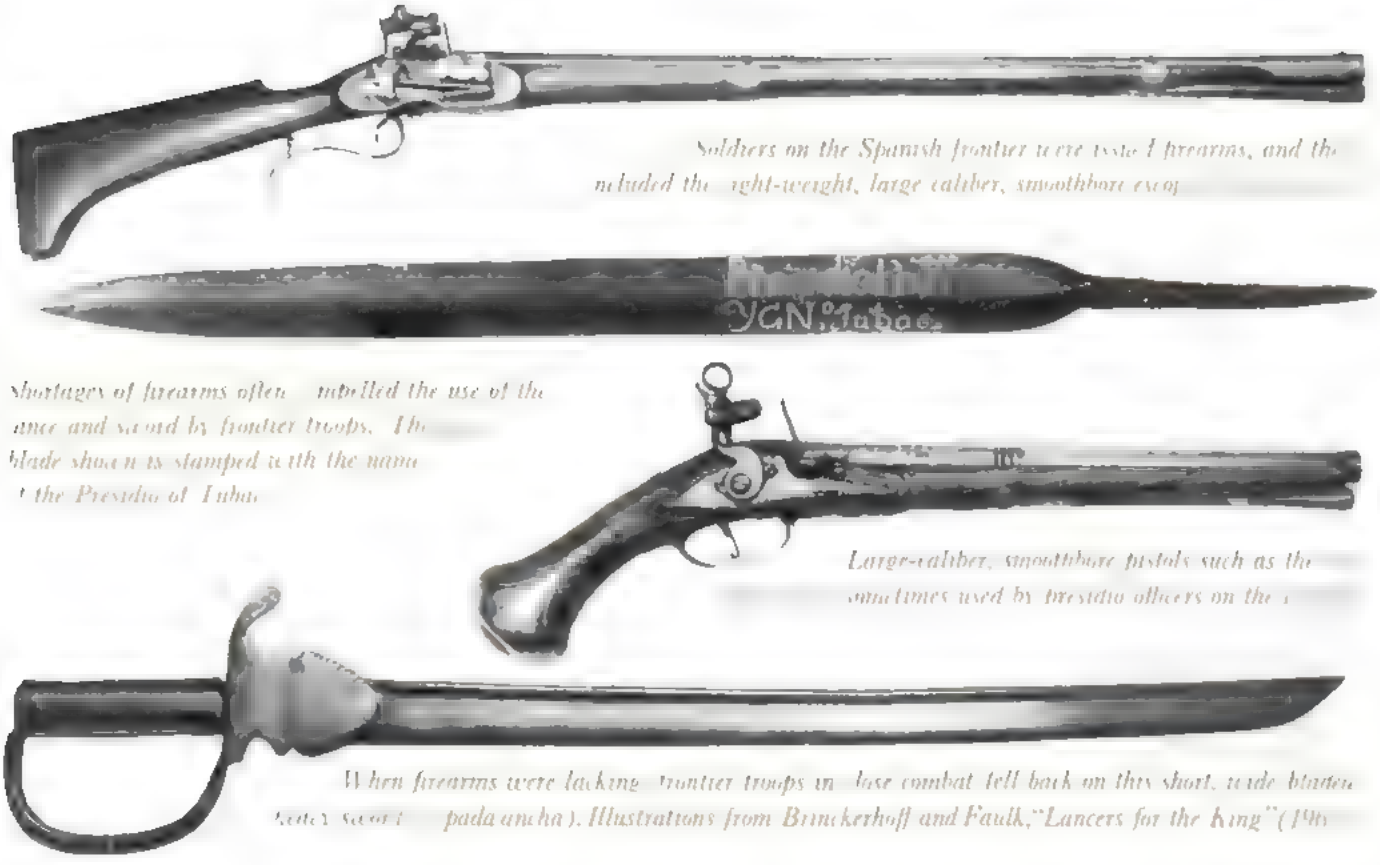
Officers who had come from Spain often regarded the common soldiers as contemptible colonials. Such officers frequently made derogatory judgments about the provincials under their command, attributing failures to racial factors. Nor were these European-born officers impressed with the area to be defended or happy with their assignments to duty in the Interior Provinces; frequently their letters and reports refer to the region as *el fin del mundo*—the end of the world. Thus the resident of the Interior Provinces who enlisted in the frontier army, despite his high potential, had little incentive to become proficient.

The particular presidio to which a new soldier reported generally was very much like all the others on the frontier. Located most often near good farming land and built on high ground, the presidio was constructed on a pattern learned from the Moors. Those presidios in the desert country—and most of them were—were built of adobe bricks in a square or rectangular shape with walls at least ten feet high; the length of the sides ranged from two to eight hundred feet each. On two diagonal corners, round bastions, or *toreones*, were constructed, rising above the wall and pierced with firing ports. This arrangement allowed the soldiers to fire down the length of all four walls at attackers. On the inside of the walls, buildings were constructed, the roofs of which were high enough to serve as parapets from which men could fire over the walls. Included inside the presidio were storage facilities, a chapel, and rooms for the officers and men. The only outside opening was the main gate.

Variations in this basic design were used at such places as Los Adaes in the province of Texas, where wooden palisades and diamond-shaped bastions were constructed, and at Tubac, in Arizona, where there was one square tower instead of two round bastions. At Santa Cruz de Terrenate, also in Arizona, there was only one diamond-shaped tower. The new systems of fortification developed in Europe by Prestre de Vauban and Menno van Coehoorn during the late seventeenth century had only slight influence on the Spanish frontier posts. Since in this area there was little fear of the enemy employing artillery, the presidial commanders could rely on inexpensive, traditional designs and materials. The adobe walls were built in thicknesses up to three feet—enough to stop any arrow or bullet. While the Indians were able at times to penetrate these stout forts by stealth, they never overcame one by direct attack. In fact, the design of these presidios was so practical that many American traders and military leaders chose to build their forts in the Southwest on the same pattern. Bent's Fort in Colorado is an excellent example.

Both tradition and economy played an important part in the selection of weapons and equipment for the frontier soldiers of the Interior Provinces. The lance, a weapon which had been used in Europe for centuries, was issued to each soldier and likewise was made available to the militia. Ten feet long, including a foot-long blade, these weapons were inexpensive to produce and were frequently made by local blacksmiths or armorers. In the hands of a trained soldier, however, the lance was deadly. Grasped above the midpoint and held out from the body, it could be handled with accuracy during a charge. When the Indian enemy was caught in the open, particularly if on foot, he was an easy target for the Spanish soldier. Jabbing and thrusting, the soldier often aimed for the kidneys of his retreating enemy.

These troops also carried a short, wide-bladed, heavy sword—the *espada ancha*—which was excellent in close combat and for fighting on foot. In addition, it was perfect for cutting through brush. Many of these swords were produced on the frontier by local blacksmiths. Carried in a leather scabbard, the sword was attached to the left side of the saddle, under the soldier's leg, hilt forward. On some occasions, however, it was carried on a leather sling across the soldier's left shoulder with the name of his presidio stitched on the sling. The inclusion of these two weapons—the *espada ancha* and the lance—among the arms of the frontier soldier was based on the traditional Spanish battle tactic of close, hand-to-hand



Soldiers on the Spanish frontier were issued firearms, and the
ncluded the ight-weight, large caliber, smoothbore escop

Shortages of firearms often ntolled the use of the
ance and sword by frontier troops. The
blade shown is stamped with the name
f the Presidio of Tubac

Large-caliber, smoothbore pistols such as the
metimes used by presidio officers on the

When firearms were lacking frontier troops in lose combat fell back on this short, wide bladed
sword pada ancha). Illustrations from Brinckerhoff and Faulk, "Lancers for the King" (19

combat with the enemy, and perhaps seemed logical to Spanish military leaders in Mexico City and Madrid. In the Interior Provinces, however, the two weapons were almost useless, for the nomadic savages of this area rarely fought in the open or made a stand unless trapped. They preferred hit-and-run tactics and the ambush, and rarely would they attack unless the odds were heavily in their favor. Thus the Spaniards were generally at a disadvantage, equipped and encumbered by two weapons of little practical value.

According to the Royal Regulations, each soldier was to be issued firearms. These included a short-barreled, miguelet-lock, smoothbore *escopeta*, or carbine, and two heavy, large-caliber pistols. However, because of shortages and inadequate training in their use and maintenance, the troops on many occasions made little use of these weapons, relying instead on the traditional lance and sword. The first commandant general of the Interior Provinces, Brigadier General Teodoro de Croix, a native of France who had entered the Spanish army at the age of seventeen and who had seen many campaigns in Europe, issued orders soon after taking command that the soldiers at every presidio be given training in firing at targets with both pistol and carbine. But only a few presidial commanders made a serious attempt to comply. In practice, therefore, the troops learned to use their guns during actual combat—if they used them at all. Spanish regulations provided that each soldier be issued three pounds of gunpowder annually. Since he was charged for all powder in excess of this amount, he had little interest in target practice.

Also hampering efforts to make the soldiers proficient with firearms was the difficulty of supply. As late as the 1780's many of the presidios had not received new-model weapons that had been ordered for them and were relying on obsolete firearms very inferior to the type used by the Indians, who were buying from French and English suppliers. When Lieutenant Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza gathered troops in 1779 for a campaign against the Comanches penetrating New Mexico, he discovered that most of the six hundred men in his command had only three charges of powder for their weapons and that the guns themselves were almost useless because of improper care. Anza delayed his campaign until his special order for new carbines arrived, and his offensive proved to be very effective. Captain Allande y Saavedra at the presidio of San Agustín del Tucson in Arizona was one of the few commanders who drilled his men in marks-

manship, and he likewise had considerable success in dealing with the Indians. These two commanders were the exception, however. The others continued to rely on the lance and sword.

The defensive equipment supplied the presidial soldiers also was traditional in design. The *adarga*, or leather shield, was a standard item of equipment designed to deflect or stop arrows and lance thrusts. It had been used by Spanish soldiers with few modifications since the Middle Ages when it had been copied from the shields carried by the Moorish invaders. Constructed of several thicknesses of bull hide stitched together, the *adarga* was carried on the left arm or slung over the back when not in use. It was generally about twenty inches high and twenty-four inches across and saw service on the frontier from the time of Hernán Cortés until the end of Spanish rule. Most of these shields were made on the frontier, either at the missions, as was the case in California, or by artisans in the pueblos of the northern provinces. Inexpensive, durable, and traditional, the *adarga* appealed to the Spanish soldier, although it had long since been discarded by most other armies.

In preparing for battle the presidial soldier also donned a *cuera*. Made from four to six thicknesses of cowhide, this three-quarter-length sleeveless coat was designed as protection from arrows and lance thrusts not stopped by the *adarga*. Sometimes quilted but most often simply stitched together, the *cuera* had evolved from the cotton and leather armor used both by Moors and Aztecs. Despite its weight and the fact that it must have been uncomfortably hot, this leather coat gave the soldier a sense of security when going into battle. Commandant General Croix strongly criticized the use of the *cuera*, the *adarga*, and the lance, stating that all three were outmoded and more a hindrance than a help. He urged the use of lightly equipped, mounted troops employing the latest firearms and the best horses in order to pursue and defeat the Indians. Although the regular Spanish cavalry units in the New World had already adopted such tactics, Croix's suggestions were not implemented in the Interior Provinces. Many officers on the frontier, several of them of high rank, still believed in the lance and the leather armor, and few changes were made. The heavily laden cavalrymen, the *soldados de cuera*, continued to make up the largest part of the provincial forces.

Outfitted for battle, the soldier and his horse made an imposing sight nonetheless. Under his *cuera* the trooper wore a waist-length blue jacket, cuffs and collar of red with white metal buttons down the front, and blue, knee-length trousers. To protect his lower legs, he tied on leather leggings, known as *botas*, which wrapped around his leg below the knee. These often were decorated and sometimes had pronounced wings projecting out behind. A broad-brimmed, flat-crowned, black hat was the common military head covering, under which was worn a black bandana. On the saddle, to afford further leg protection from the thorny brush of the desert, were tied *armas*, or side skirts of leather. The *armas* hung from the saddle over the rider's legs to a point below the stirrups. When not in use, the *armas* were tied only in front and gave some protection to the legs and shoulders of the horse.

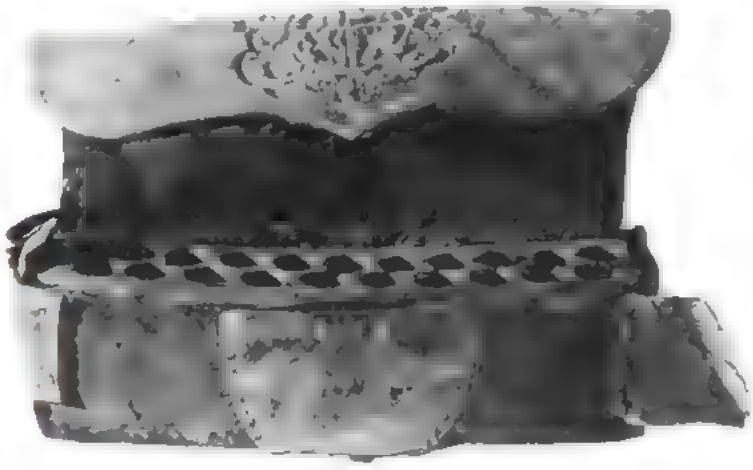
The saddle itself was usually of vaquero style and made on the frontier. Rawhide was sewn and shrunk to a hardwood tree to form the base. Over this was placed a soft leather covering known as a *coraza*, and over this was a smaller leather pad, or *mochila*, which sometimes held front-mounted saddlebags, or *coginillos*. To protect the horse's hindquarters, decorated rump armor, or *anquera*, was attached to the back of the saddle. This was made of seven panels of leather sewn together. The stirrups usually were locally made and of wood, and covered over the front with leather *tapaderas*. The weight of these horse trappings, in addition to the arms, armor, and equipment of the soldier, did much to wear down horses during a campaign, and in part explains why the Spaniards needed numerous remounts in the field. Despite these burdens, however, the presidial soldier generally was an excellent horseman, and his equipment made him a formidable adversary. For those same reasons, though, the eighteenth-century Spanish presidial soldier was loath to dismount and fight on foot, and in fact, had not been trained to do so. He was a heavy cavalryman, not a dragoon—and heavy cavalry was not suited to fighting the Indians of the plains and mountains of the Southwest.

Aside from the field experiences, the home life and living conditions of the frontier soldier usually did little to lift his morale. The soldiers' and officers' quarters within the presidios were arranged along the defensive outer wall. Constructed of adobe with their doors and small windows opening onto the central courtyard, the one-room dwellings and barracks were dark and cheerless. Outside the presidio at his home, the soldier found living conditions little better. Generally these dwellings

had brush-and-mud ceilings, dirt floors, unplastered walls, and were nothing more than miserable huts which probably accounts for the fact that most presidial reports in describing the living quarters of the soldiers listed every family home as a *"jacal"* (hut). Here, with his family the trooper passed his days, sleeping on the floor rolled in blankets, as beds generally were not available. A small fireplace built in one corner served as cookstove and source of heat. Chairs and tables also seem to have been in short supply. Therefore, meals were served on the floor or on the ground outside the hut. Perhaps a trunk or chest held the family's few possessions, which seldom included more than a few pieces of clothing, cooking utensils, and religious objects. Candles, when they could be obtained, provided a source of light during the evening hours.

When supplies could be secured from the south—and when the soldier was not too deeply in debt to pay for them—some luxuries could be obtained. Hot chocolate, served in the morning and evening, supplemented a diet made up largely of beans, ground corn, beef or mutton from the presidial or mission herds, and sometimes fruit from mission orchards. Grain was ground in stone *metates* in the house or in nearby mule-powered stone mills, known as *molinos*, to obtain meal for tortillas. On the plot of land allotted him, the soldier-farmer tried to raise beans, corn, chiles, and local crops. When Indian raids became too intense, he had to rely on stored foods or what he could secure from the nearby desert—generally mesquite beans and what wild vegetables grew in the region. In some instances a part of his pay was given the soldier in edibles. For example, in Texas in 1781 each trooper received a monthly allowance of two and one-half bushels of corn, half a cow, half a hog, and one-fourth peso's value of crude brown sugar. In California where peace with the Indians made life more settled and where the missions for a price could supply certain luxuries, living conditions were far better. As a general rule, however, the soldier was forced to eke out his living with little hope of improving his conditions, even when his presidio was located near good farming lands.

These troops found little relief from the hard monotony of their lives even in their leisure moments. Mescal, either brewed locally from the juice of the agave plant or brought up from the south, provided a liquor that drowned many sorrows and insults. Gambling was so widespread that the officers stopped trying to prevent it, although the regulations strictly forbade games of chance. There were fandangos and informal dances. Other amusements included cock fights, horse races, and the observance of the local patron saint's day or the various religious holidays. Women were scarce on the frontier except at the few presidios located in towns of considerable size, such as Santa Fe and San Antonio. Therefore, in searching for a bride to share his lot, the soldier frequently had to turn to the mission Indians and raise children with even more native blood in their veins than in his own.



Frontier troops were issued cartridge boxes designed to hold paper cartridges for use with muzzle-loading weapons. The model shown consists of a block of wood with bored holes to accommodate the cases. From the Los Angeles County Museum

When not at home or working on his farm, the soldier was busy with many duties. Defeat and conquest of Indian enemies was, of course, the major function of the presidial complements. The trooper who served out his ten-year enlistment was often a veteran of dozens of campaigns made against the Indians who raided in the vicinity. After a raid it generally took a day or two for a report to reach the fort and then several more hours for officers and men to collect and prepare their equipment. On long expeditions the *soldados de cuera* took along six or seven extra horses apiece, plus pack mules

with supplies. Heavily burdened with equipment and a large remuda, the column generally traveled no more than twenty miles a day. The Indians, if they had not fled into their wilderness hideouts, watched from high ground as the conspicuous column proceeded after them, or if an opportunity presented itself they would strike quickly and suddenly at the remount herd, driving off most of the horses and thus forcing the column to turn back. Another favorite trick of the enemy was to double back and attack the unprotected settlement near the presidio. The soldiers on their return would be greeted by the sight of their own dead families and burned homes.

When these Spanish columns did penetrate the Indian country far enough to find a native village, it was usually abandoned, and little could be accomplished except the destruction of the site. There were, of course, a few patrols that succeeded in catching the Indians in the open. In these cases few commanders employed refined techniques of war; instead they sent their men in a headlong charge at the enemy. Carbines and pistols were discharged first. Then at close quarters, where the Spaniards preferred to fight, the lance and short sword were used to good effect. In such engagements the *soldados de cuera* frequently received wounds, but these were seldom fatal. Those Indians not killed or captured would flee, leaving behind their loot. Sometimes the officers would order the troops to cut off the heads of dead Indians to mount on their lances during the return march. This practice, it was hoped, would strike terror into the hearts of the enemy.

Despite these periodic successes, the small columns of lancers could do little to defeat the large nomadic bands and nations of Indians scattered throughout the Interior Provinces. Only large expeditions of several hundred soldiers, consisting of troops drawn from many presidios, the militia, and all the Indian allies that could be mustered, were able to force the Comanches and Apaches into a temporary peace in the early 1780's. Yet there were few such major actions, and the presidial soldiers spent most of their campaigns on fruitless patrols in small groups.

Other duties of the presidial soldiers were many and varied. Most of the presidios were understaffed, and the troops were spread thinly over the surrounding country. Nearby missions usually had a small force of soldiers guarding the mission herds. Larger numbers of troops were assigned to guard the presidial horse herd, which usually consisted of several hundred horses and mules. These herds were favorite targets for Apache and Comanche raiders; picketed for grazing away from the presidio, the herd was easily stampeded and difficult to stop. The Indians preferred to steal these animals rather than try to capture the untamed and unbroken wild ponies of the plains. Soldiers also served as escorts for the supply trains, as mail riders, and as agents of the missionaries to round up renegade mission Indians.

Because so many of the soldiers of a presidio were on detached duty at all times, the presidios were unable to mount quick retaliatory expeditions when raids occurred. Attacks by the Indians on the presidios themselves were few, but when they did occur there was extreme danger of the forts being overrun. For example, when more than three hundred Apaches assailed San Agustín del Tucson on May 1, 1782, Captain Allande y Saavedra had only twenty soldiers and two civilians available to beat off the attack. In this instance the captain made use of the fort's four-pound cannon to turn the tide of battle in favor of the Spaniards.

Those few soldiers with mechanical skills or training as artisans were fortunate. One member of each presidial company was designated armorer, in which capacity he was expected to keep all firearms in working order. He also used a forge to make and repair iron implements for the garrison. He, along with the few artisans, received extra pay and was exempted from other garrison duties, but all were expected to participate in campaigns.

Since most of these soldiers had been born and raised on the frontier, their lot was made bearable by the fact that they knew no other life. For those officers from outside the Interior Provinces, some of whom had visited the royal court in Madrid and the major cities of Spain and Mexico, the life was almost intolerable. Cut off by distance and isolation from civilized pursuits and society, they tended to drink heavily and to indulge their worst appetites. Commandant General Croix commented of them, "Very few give any hope of improving their behavior and conduct. They openly embrace all the abominable excesses, . . . do not observe orders, [and] hide the truth. . . . I have no others to whom to turn."

Under such conditions it is little wonder that the aim of military pacification of the Indians largely failed. In an effort to remedy the deteriorating conditions, high Spanish officials divided the Interior Provinces, reunited them, and divided them again. Finally in 1786 the new viceroy, Bernardo de Gálvez, who had seen service on the northern frontier, and had later governed Louisiana,

put a new plan into effect. He decreed a vigorous war on those Indians not at peace with Spain. Once the savages asked for peace, he ordered that they be settled in villages in the shadow of a presidio where they would be given presents, inferior firearms, and alcoholic beverages. Gálvez reasoned that the presents should be of such value that the Indians would prize peace more than war, and that the arms supplied them would quickly become inoperative and could only be repaired by the Spaniards. The Gálvez policy worked sufficiently well to bring about a period of relative peace from 1787 to 1810. It was during this time that many of the beautiful missions of the Southwest, such as San Xavier del Bac and Tumacácori, were constructed. But when the War for Independence began in Mexico in 1810 and the distribution of presents stopped, the Indians again took to the warpath in increased numbers, thundering past the useless cordon of presidios into the interior of Mexico. Peace had been achieved by the Spaniards for a time, but it was by purchase, not force of arms.

All of the ingredients for a successful army were available in the Interior Provinces, but Spanish officials did not make proper use of them. Through a reliance on traditional weapons and equipment, an improper and inadequate training of the common soldiers—who had high potential—Spain was forced into purchasing peace ingloriously. In 1777–78 on his first tour of inspection, Commandant General Croix noted that the soldiers of the Interior Provinces were without training in handling firearms and were ignorant of military tactics. Thirty years later in 1807, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, during his momentous trek through the Southwest, commented that the soldiers he saw in the province of New Mexico would have been outstanding except for ignorance and a lack of training. In 1817, just four years before the Spanish empire crumbled away into memory, Governor Antonio María Martínez wrote his superiors:

> The troops which make up the garrison of this province are in the most deplorable condition. They are all absolutely unclothed except the veteran company of [San Antonio de] Béxar, the 1st militia company, and the pickets from Aguaverde and Rio Grande. The cloth coats and breeches worn by the men in these companies are full of holes, and the material is practically rotten. The other troops in the companies of La Bahia, Monclova, and Colonia have absolutely nothing, and neither the former nor the latter has hats or shoes, or even a single shirt. . . . The terrible condition of these troops has created a state of general dissatisfaction in the province and is the cause of the many desertions which occur daily and retard the efficiency of the service. Sometimes I cannot get together a party of twenty-five men to send to Rio Grande to escort convoys or execute any other mission because I cannot trust that many individuals to return. Invariably, there are some men in every party who do not wish to come back.

This statement leads to the conclusion that conditions were deteriorating instead of improving during the last years of Spanish rule. Considering the shortage of funds and supplies, the poor training of soldiers, the attitude and abuses of the officers, and the barbaric ferocity of the Indians, the wonder is not that the Spanish common soldier performed as poorly as he did, but that he succeeded as well as he did.

The student of Spanish military history in the Borderlands has a formidable task sifting through the hundreds of printed reports and the uncounted hundreds of thousands of manuscript pages of documents. Unprinted materials may be found in the Béxar Archives (University of Texas), the New Mexico Archives (State Archives, Santa Fe), the collections of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society (Tucson) relating to Arizona and Sonora, and the extensive holdings at the Bancroft and Huntington libraries. Outside the United States, the largest holdings are in the *Archivo General de la Nación* (Mexico City) and the *Archivo General de Indias* (Sevilla, Spain). For a copy of the Royal Regulations of 1772, see Brinckerhoff and Faulk, *Lancers for the King* (Phoenix, 1965). For an excellent study of the supply problem in the Interior Provinces, see Max L. Moorhead, "The Private Contract System of Presidial Supply in Northern New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XLI (February, 1961), 31–54. For the weapons of the Spanish soldier, see Carl Russell, *Guns on the Early Frontier* (Berkeley, 1957). Other printed works of value include A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, 1777–1787* (Norman, 1932), and *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776–1783* (Norman, 1941); Lawrence Kinnaird, *The Frontiers of New Spain: Nicholás de Lafora's Description, 1766–1768* (Berkeley, 1958); Virginia H. Taylor (ed and trans.), *The Letters of Antonio Martínez* (Austin, 1957); Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, 1928), and Bernardo de Gálvez, *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786*, trans. and ed. by Donald E. Worcester (Berkeley, 1951).

Portrait of a Community

Joseph de Urrutia's Map of El Paso del Norte, 1766

BY REX E. GERALD

The present Ciudad Juárez, in Chihuahua, Mexico, across the Rio Grande from El Paso, was for ninety years a military post on Spain's northern frontier. The name Ciudad Juárez was adopted in the 1880's. The Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar del Paso del Río del Norte was built there in 1684 adjacent to the Franciscan mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, dating from 1659. Following the Seven Years' War, the king of Spain sent the Marqués de Rubí to inspect the military situation along the northern border of New Spain—the "end of the world." Rubí spent the years 1766 through 1768 with the study. The accompanying map of the Paso del Norte was drawn in the summer of 1766 by Joseph de Urrutia under the direction of Nicolás de Lafora, chief engineer of the Rubí inspection team.

The Urrutia map is a historical document of primary

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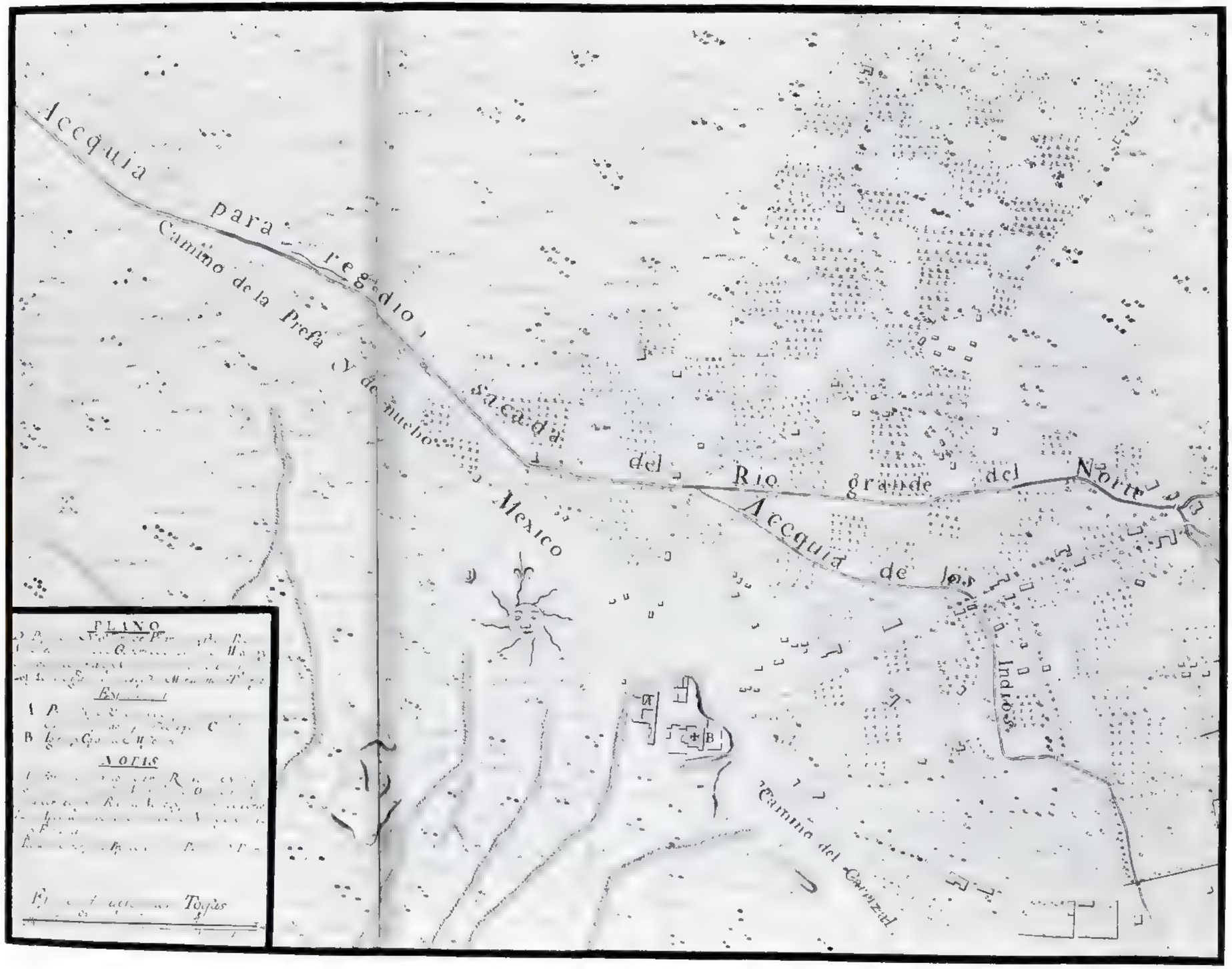


significance. It shows the royal presidio, Nuestra Señora del Pilar, indicated by the Letter A and the Franciscan mission, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, by the letter B. Other buildings, probably dwellings, are distributed along the radiating trails and among the irrigated fields to the north and east of the presidio and mission.

The presidio building consists of a contiguous group of rooms built around two patios; there is apparently a round defensive tower attached to the southwest corner of the enclosures. The complex contains living space for the captain's family and a small room for the presidial guard. This plan is similar to that of most of the presidios inspected by Rubí; only a few had compound walls surrounding the grouped dwellings of the soldiers and their families as was so common a few years later. The site of the presidio building is now occupied by the Ciudad Juárez City Hall.

The mission building is composed of the church itself, a long cloister wing attached on the north, and three enclosed or partially enclosed areas. The one in front of the church to the east may have served as a cemetery. The original structure has since been replaced by a smaller building which still stands.

The inhabitants of the town are described by Nicolás de Lafora in his diary as Spaniards, mestizos, mulattoes, and Indians of the Tigua and Piro nations, and some genízaros [non-Pueblo Indians living as Spaniards]. The population of the entire valley, including four other missions, is given as five thousand. Some idea of the size of the presidio-mission town shown here can be gained from census figures collected seventeen years earlier, in 1749, when the valley had a population of 3045, of which almost 40 percent (1200) lived at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

Urrutia's map tells us something about the way these people lived. The caption gives us geographical location, the identity of presidio and mission buildings. It informs us that all buildings are made of adobe and that the mountains three miles to the north across the Rio Grande are inhabited by Apaches. The scale is in *toesas*, from the French *toise*, a unit of measurement just short of two meters. The location of dwellings suggests inferences about social and economic position; there are data that explain current agricultural economics; there is evidence of radical changes in the irrigation system (the *acequia para regadio* is the irrigation ditch bringing water from the Rio Grande. Note the branch *acequia* for the Indians). There is also evidence to suggest that the community was something more than a primitive frontier settlement of soldiers and subsistence farmers.

It is obvious that some of the patterns set two hundred years ago, when Urrutia prepared his map, are still in existence. For example, many of the large and elaborate homes of the social elite are still found on the north side of the street running east from the mission—Avenida 16 de Septiembre. The present city has grown out along lines determined by eighteenth-century public roads and state, church, and private land holdings. The importance of the map for understanding the structure of the modern city is undeniable. Joseph de Urrutia not only drew a map, he painted an enduringly recognizable portrait of a community.

Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua—El Paso, Texas) in its long history has meant "town" to farmers, ranchers, merchants, and villagers living within a two-hundred-mile radius, but only one historical study covers the early period. This work is by Anne Hughes, "The Beginning of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District," *University of California Publications in History* (Berkeley, 1914). In it she documents the founding of both the mission and the presidio shown on the above map. The following have also been consulted: The important Lafora journal has been edited by Lawrence Kinnaird, *The Frontier of New Spain, Nicolas de Lafora's Description, 1766–1768* (Berkeley, 1958). Changes in the ground plan of presidios and the relocation of many of them, including Nuestra Señora del Pilar, as a result of recommendations by the Marqués de Rubí and by Lafora are discussed in "Presidios of the Late 18th Century in Northern New Spain," by the present author (to be published in 1966). The census figures for 1749 are given in Fernando Ocaranza's *Establecimientos Franciscanos en el Misterioso Nuevo Mexico* (Mexico, 1934). The climatic study by Harold C. Fritts, David G. Smith, and Richard L. Holmes, "Tree-Ring Evidence for Climatic Changes in Western North America from 1500 A.D. to 1940 A.D.," *Annual Report to the United States Weather Bureau*, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., 1964 (Tucson, 1964), does much to elucidate the fragmentary economic records from this area and also to explain indirectly the probable cause of much of the discord reported from time to time within the Spanish community and between Spaniards and Indians.

Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Mission in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico, is very near, if not on the same spot, occupied by the mission and cloister shown on the Urrutia map of 1766. This mission was established by the Franciscan Order in 1659 and a temporary church of sticks and mud was constructed. The permanent church and large cloister were completed a few years later and presumably endured until some time before 1852 when the building shown above, a smaller structure and one possibly incorporating portions of the original, was erected. This view was taken on January 1, 1882, by the frontier photographer Ben Wittick.

A documentary portfolio of photographs and an article by Adam Clark Vroman, with an introduction by Ruth I. Mahood

Zuñi

Since man perfected the process of producing images on sensitized surfaces by the action of light, photographers have found the Southwest, with its bright skies, clear air, dramatic landscape, and diverse peoples, a region to excite and to challenge. Around the turn of the century a number of photographers visited the region, among them Adam Clark Vroman whose interest had been aroused by another easterner, Charles Fletcher Lummis.

Although Vroman always claimed to be only an amateur photographer, his clear, sensitive portrayals make us realize what a debt the historian, ethnologist, artist, and other students of the Southwest owe to this man. At all times Vroman was interested in the documentary aspect of his work. Through his ability to see beyond the exact moment of the picture and his penetrating interest in the human subject, he has left us a rich legacy of documents illustrative of the Southwest and its history.

Adam Clark Vroman was born April 15, 1856, at La Salle, Illinois. Very little is known of his family with the exception that the Vrooman family originally came to America from Holland in 1664. A. C. Vroman received his education in the public schools of Illinois.

In 1892 he married Esther H. Griest and brought his bride to Rockford. Shortly thereafter it became evident that Mrs. Vroman, a victim of tuberculosis, could not continue to live under the rigorous climatic conditions of Illinois. Hoping that a more favorable climate would soon alleviate her condition, Vroman gave up a railroad position in the Middle West and moved to Pasadena, California, in 1893. The change did not produce the desired results, and Mrs. Vroman passed away in her former home in Flora Dale, Pennsylvania, in September 1894. Adam Clark Vroman returned to California. He never remarried.

He had a deep interest in literature and the arts and had amassed a collection of very fine books, a large portion of which he sold to finance a bookstore in Pasadena, in which business he continued until his death on July 24, 1916, at the age of sixty years.

One of the products sold in his store was photographic supplies. In fact, we are told that it was the sale from his Kodak agency (the first Eastman agency in southern California) that returned most of his early profit.

Involved in photography himself, he was also motivated to help others enjoy the satisfaction it brought. To accomplish this, he organized in 1898 a camera group called simply, "The Club." The members met in his library above the bookstore and enjoyed many hours discussing books and magazines, but photography was the favorite subject. Because of this preoccupation, Vroman spent as much time as he could spare taking photographic expeditions, often accompanied by "Club" members. A glass-plate photographer, he has left us a representative collection of a record of the California missions before restoration, the splendors of Yosemite, the scenic beauty of Pasadena and surrounding areas, a memoir of a trip to the East, and finally a complete chronicle of several expeditions to the Indian pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, from which resulted the accompanying article on Zuñi.

In addition to his involvement with his store and photographic expeditions, he was also an art col-

Living in eastern New Mexico, the Zuñis have known the white man for over four centuries, but they have held to their own way of life. They have at times fled to the top of Taaiyalone Mesa (preceding spread) to defend their independence.

During the Spanish era, the Indians moved to the present pueblo of Zuñi where Vroman made some remarkable photographs. These Zuñis were photographed against the backdrop of the crumbling Spanish church.

Vroman's caption was, "The Pueblo from Cushing's House." Frank H. Cushing lived with the Zunis for five years and was the only white man ever to be completely adopted into their society. His books about them are ethnological classics.

lector. Many of his treasures were found among the Indians of southwestern United States. He was particularly proud of the Navajo blankets which he considered much more interesting and beautiful than Persian or Turkish rugs. He said once, "Why should we not value the handiwork of our native Indians as much as a foreign purchase? It will be but a few years before an Indian blanket will be as rare as a buffalo skin is today." Katchina dolls were also in the collection he gave to the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles.

In order to preserve his superb pictorial record of the Southwest and its people, he presented to the Pasadena Public Library sixteen green, morocco-bound and gold-tooled albums of mounted five-by-seven photographs of California and the Southwest taken in the late 1880's and through the early 1900's. He also bequeathed to the library a collection of books on the Southwest, together with a sum of $10,000 to augment the collection.

Today the Vroman collection of his original glass negatives, after having passed through several hands, is housed in the History Division of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History where it has been completely catalogued. It is open to the public for serious study and already has been used by writers, historians, ethnologists, and other researchers. The book, *Photographer of the Southwest,* published in 1961 by the Ward Ritchie Press, tells something of Vroman as photographer and gives technical details about negatives, the photographs, and the collection. The book contains one hundred fine, full-page reproductions from the collection.

Adam Clark Vroman's collection of photographs is a legacy left by a generous-hearted man—a magnificent contribution more fully appreciated every year.

The following essay by Vroman, "The Pueblo of Zuni," reproduced exactly as it was first published, tells of his experiences while on a photographic trip to Zuñi. It appeared originally in the *Photo Era,* a serial of modest circulation, in August 1901. The photographs reproduced here have been made from the original glass-plate negatives in the Los Angeles County Museum.

If we were asked which one of the nineteen New Mexican pueblos was the most interesting, it would be difficult to say. While Acoma (of which, more in a future paper) in location at least, has the advantage, yet the people and pueblo of Zuni have a high place in our favor, if not our preference. For in many ways, one can see and learn more of pueblo life among the Zuni than in any other of the New Mexican pueblos.

Zuni has become better known than any of the other pueblos through the work and writings of Mr. Frank Hamilton Cushing, whose death in 1900 was a great loss to all anthropological students of the country. Cushing lived at Zuni for about five years (1879 to 1885) under the direction of Major Powell of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and was adopted into one of their clans, initiated into their sacred and secret ceremonies and at last reached the highest place but one, in the councils of the Pueblo, that of chieftainship of the priesthood of the Bow, or War Chief.

His articles in the Century Magazine, and his tour through the East, accompanied by a number of the principal Indians of the Pueblo some fifteen years ago, brought them so well before the public that a detailed

In this photograph, which approaches the quality of a fine painting, Vroman documents his statement that the interiors were clean and freshly whitewashed.

description will be unnecessary here.

Zuni is best reached from Gallup, a station on the Santa Fe route, about two hundred miles west of Albuquerque, where conveyance can be had for the forty mile drive, reaching the Pueblo the same evening over a rather uninteresting yet not a tiresome road. Accommodations can generally be had at the trading post of Bennett Bros., who occupy the house built by Mr. Cushing while in charge of the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition during their work at Zuni; and while not all the comforts of a city hotel can be had, the Bennett Bros. will make your stay as interesting and as comfortable as possible.

Zuni, the ancient Cibola of Coronado's time, was the Mecca of the first Spanish adventurers in search of the "Seven Cities of Cibola," of which they had heard so much and whose streets they anticipated finding literally covered with gold: (see "The Coronado Expedition", by G. P. Winship, in 14th annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, part I).

There is still some controversy as to the exact location of the famous "Seven Cities," but it is generally conceded that they were at least, in the immediate vicinity of the present Zuni, and that Coronado in 1539 was the first to locate them.

As late as 1600 we know that Zuni was located on top of Ta-ai-yal-o-na, or Thunder Mountain, some five miles to the east of the present pueblo, and eight hundred feet above the plain, ruins of which are still to be seen. Twice since have the natives fled to the mountain when trouble arose between them and the invaders.

The present pueblo stands on a slight rise of ground about twenty feet above the Zuni river, which, like most of the rivers of this section is apparently dry but, by digging two

Dozens of water carriers were seen during the early morning and early evening.

or three feet in the sand, water can be had. During the early morning and evening hours, however, there is quite a little flow and dozens of the women can be seen filling their ollas and watering their little garden patches within adobe walls near the west end of the Pueblo. Picturesque indeed are they in their bright colored costumes, with decorated water jars poised on their heads, as they stop to gossip or watch the man with the camera.

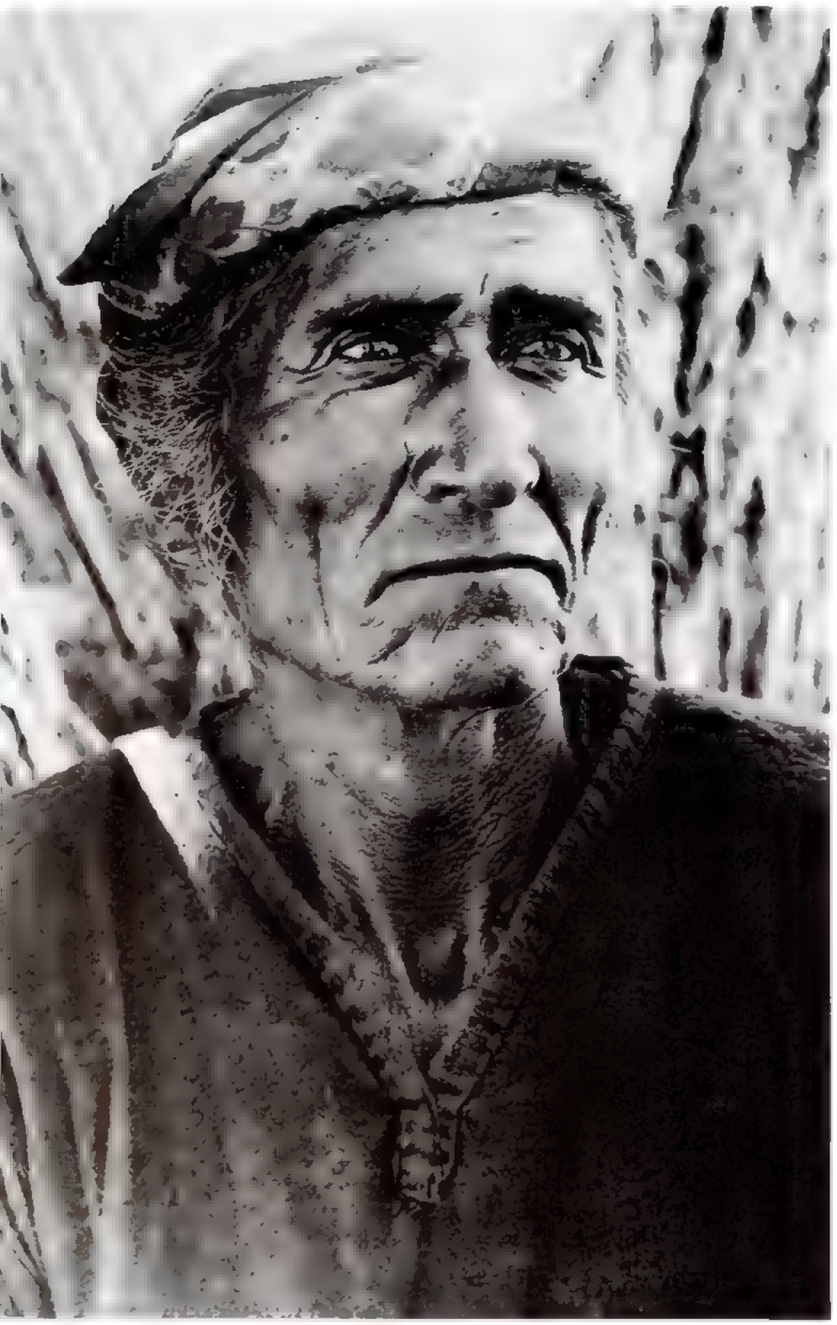
The pueblo itself is full of interesting bits for the camerist, although the natives may hide their faces or sometimes even slam the door rudely in one's face, yet, with a little patience and diplomacy, one will secure enough to make his set of photographs interesting. Let the Indian take his own time to get ready. Don't try to hurry matters, however. But when he is ready make the exposure at once, or he may change his mind.

Zuni has a population of about twelve hundred, and is well built and spread over a considerable territory. The newer houses are not built above two stories in height; but in the older portion of the pueblo, some are four and five stories high or deep. Many of the houses are quite elaborately decorated with paintings of animals or birds or other family totem. All are comfortably clean and wholesome, freshly whitewashed, and show an effort toward adornment.

It so happened that we reached the Pueblo on the evening of the return from the pilgrimage to the Sacred lake, some fifty miles south of the Pueblo, where they had gone the day previous to perform certain rites preparatory to the Rain Dance that was to take place that night and the following days. This is one of their most important ceremonies and, as there had been no rain for many weeks, it had become a serious matter with them. Hence their long pilgrimage to the Sacred lake, which we were told only takes place in exceptionally dry seasons as a last resort, after all other petitions and prayers fail. Surely, after seeing the earnest prayerful appeal to their divinity, as shown in their faces, one could not question their sincerity, and we followed the sixty or more gorgeously costumed dancers more with a feeling of reverence than of curiosity, as they marched into the pueblo, just as the sun dropped behind the Zuni Buttes in the west.

All night we heard the stamping of their feet in that peculiar step used in nearly all Indian dances, their rattles keeping time with their song.

Living in an arid land the Zuñis found it necessary at times to appeal to the gods for rain. The rain dance, portrayed here, was a serious matter with them.



Our friend "Tseh-na-hy," told us that, "tomorrow he go in Kiva, no sleep for six days and six nights, all the time sing and smoke; bimby bring plenty rain; corn all dry up, no rain; nothing to eat, big dance to-night, all night, all day to-morrow, to-morrow night, then maybe rain come." We were advised that rain did come the day following our departure, so their prayers must have been answered.

The rain dance is very similar to many other of the Pueblo ceremonies, and a photograph of one might answer for several. One strange feature is the Coshira, or Mud-heads, as they are called.

Ten men with canvas masks over their heads, with grotesque faces that would frighten one out of a year's growth if come upon suddenly, go through all kinds of pranks and by-play, to entertain the spectators while the dancers go into the Kivas.

Among the people you will find many strong faces, the men especially, I think, averaging stronger in character, than at any other Pueblo, and one always receives a warm welcome on a second visit to the Pueblo if he has given no cause for offense on the previous visit.

Old Pahl-o-wat-ta-wa rode thirty miles on a burro to see our Mr. Hodge when he learned that he was at the Pueblo, and his pleasure was as great as any white man could possibly express on seeing his friend. Mr. Hodge had lived at Zuni some years ago with Mr. Cushing.

So far as beauty among the women is concerned, I must say the Zuni woman is lacking in it. Children and dogs, as in all pueblos, are abundant. One should, if possible, go to the top of Ta-ai-yal-o-na mountain, which is reached by a rather difficult foot trail. From its summit a panoramic view of the entire valley may be had. The Twins, which from Zuni look like small pinnacles of rock on the side of the mesa, here seem great monoliths, standing some four or five hundred feet straight up; in Zuni folklore, these are the boy and girl thrown over the mesa, to appease the wrath of the rain god when the waters rose to the top of Ta-ai-yal-o-na and threatened to cover it. When at last the water subsided, these massive

Vroman thought the Zuñi women were lacking in beauty, but he admired the strong faces of the men. He usually photographed men and women separately, but he could not pass up the young lady stealing a glance at the men gambling in a quiet corner.

columns of red sandstone were left standing.

After passing over a smooth bald-faced rock, into which foot holes have been cut to prevent slipping and going down several hundred feet, we came to a sheer wall thirty feet high, over which the trail leads to the summit. Near the west end of the mesa, in a cave just under the rim, is the great Sacred Shrine of the Zuni, in which are a number of wooden figures. This shrine is seldom seen by outsiders and the guides are very reluctant to show it. A little further around to the north, but on top of the mesa, is another shrine quite as interesting. Mr. Cushing's forthcoming work on Zuni folklore will undoubtedly have much of interest on these peculiar shrines and other Zuni lore.

Pottery-making is one of the chief occupations of the women and some very nice pieces can be bought at reasonable prices. Zuni pottery is very much lighter in color than that from other pueblos and can readily be located as coming from Zuni by the manner of decoration as well as the texture.

A few blankets are made but they have not brought the art up to the perfection of the Navajo. The men make quantities of shell and turquoise beads and to bring them a quantity of shells will make them friends at once.

Inscription Rock, about twenty-five miles east of Zuni is well worth another day, if one has the time to spare. Inscriptions cut by the first travelers more than three hundred years ago, still remain; except where the vandal sight-seer has defaced this monument of the past. It should be protected and put under government control before it is too late. But our time is limited and we must hasten back without even a sight of it, trusting that the modern name-scraper will not get so far from his usual haunts for another year at least.

(Upper left) Vroman entitled this picture "Portrait of a Little Girl." (Lower left) Women painting pottery. (Center) Under the rim of Taaiyalone Mesa the photographer was guided to a sacred shrine of the Zuñi. (Upper right) The women weave rugs while the men (lower right) make quantities of shell and turquoise beads.

Spanish
Colonial
Style

THE ROSE WINDOW OF MISSION SAN JOSE SAN ANTONIO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Spanish colonial art, however modified by local tradition or techniques, is nonetheless Spanish. The Spaniards were opportunistic, and wherever they found native talent overseas they put it to work. Although the different situations encountered in the colonies caused some modifications, the succession of artistic styles was a Spanish succession. Of all the arts practiced in the New World, the preeminent one was architecture. The greatest need in a land under settlement was for building, and from the start the other arts accepted an accessory and subservient role. Of all the colonial schools, the most continuous, the most consistently developed, and in many ways the richest and most original was that of Mexico. Building in New Spain commenced early in the sixteenth century, deriving from an ancient art as developed in Spain during the centuries before the discovery of America. Since building in Mexico resulted from a fusion of several styles, it is necessary to examine first the Spanish sources of these styles.

Spanish architecture itself differs from that of the rest of Europe largely because it is the result of the intermingling of two very different cultures. During the early part of the eighth century, Mohammedan invaders from Africa swept over Christian Spain. The Moors brought with them

THE ARCHITECTURAL ORIGINS OF THE SOUTHWESTERN MISSIONS

By Robert M. Quinn

a highly developed, delicate and exquisite, exceedingly decorative Moslem art form. During the centuries-long period of the Reconquest, Spain was divided, and several Christian architectural types evolved coevally with the Moslem style. The Romanesque structural system, accepting Moorish decorative ideas, produced first a Mozarabic (Arabized) and then a Mudéjar manner of building. The Mudéjar, a style that occasionally reasserts itself even to the present day, was an art form done for Christian rulers by Moorish artisans or their Christian pupils. It was a kind of decorative surface treatment of rare finesse and delicacy, derived from the arabesques and geometrics of the Moors but including also narrative figural subjects of a Christian character. Notable examples of the Mudéjar were often found on wooden ceilings, doors, and furnishings.

As the Romanesque style evolved into the Gothic — the dominant form until the sixteenth century — the Mudéjar gave birth to another, exclusively Spanish, decorative form: the Plateresque. Delicate and highly refined, it entered easily into combination with the elaborate motifs of the late Gothic, thus imparting to that style a special Spanish flavor. In the sixteenth century, by the simple expedient of substituting Italianate motifs for the Gothic, the Plateresque was transformed into a Renaissance mode. It was, consequently, a mixture of Plateresque styles applied to a Gothic structure that composed the current architectural style as Spanish building began in Mexico.

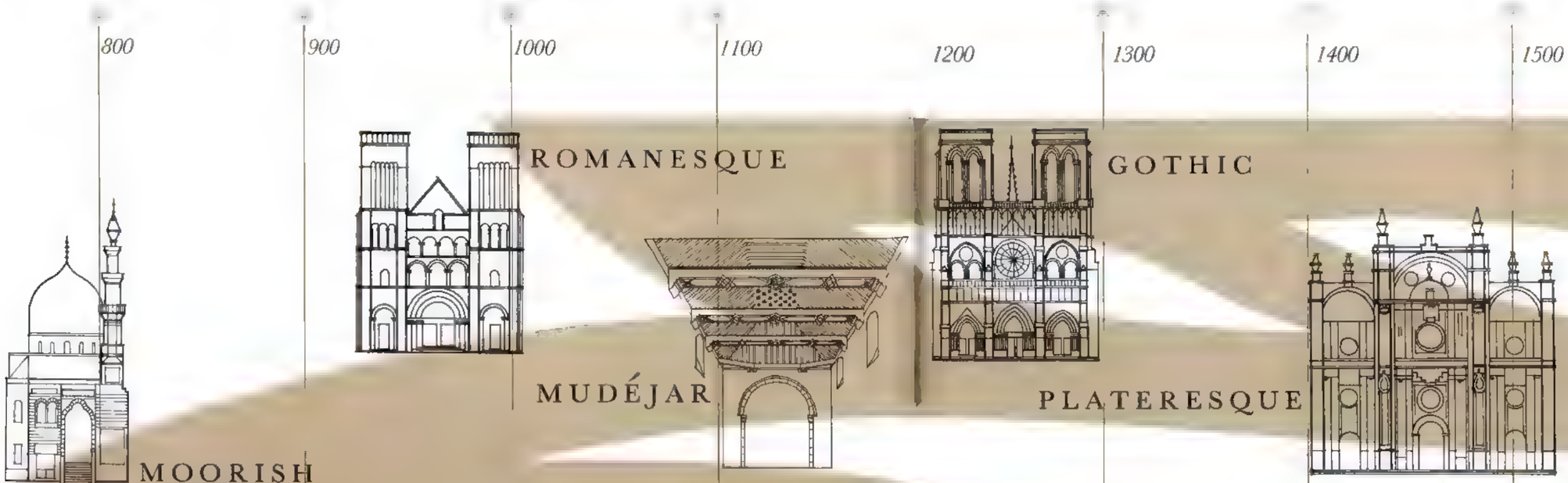
Franciscan, Augustinian, and Dominican monks, soon after the establishment of Spanish authority over the Indians, initiated the first building programs in Mexico. They built in the late Gothic style. The church of San Agustín Acolman near Mexico City will serve as an example. It is boxlike in plan and shape. It consists of but a single hall, or nave, with no side chapels or transepts. Over the entry is a singing gallery (*coro*). Behind the altar stands a great *retablo*. This last is a very Spanish feature consisting originally of numerous pictures piled up to a great height and held together by architectural framing. At Acolman, remnants of the original *retablo*, in fresco upon the walls, may be seen. In front of this stands a later *retablo* of the more usual type. It contains paintings on panels and, typical of a yet later development, statues in niches. Gothic church interiors were vaulted. The late Gothic in Spain tended to be very ornate, forming a highly complex pattern of ribs and other ornaments. When such ribbed vaultings were built in Mexican monastery churches, they were, as in the present example, limited to the section over the altar. Proceeding thence toward the entry, the roofing is barrel-vaulted. The entire vault rests upon heavy, fortress-like walls with few and small windows. Exteriorly, the walls are strengthened by pier-buttresses and are crowned with battlements. It may be seen that the early arrival of the friars in a hostile country radically modified the European Gothic style. The generally blank exterior is, however, relieved by decoration at the portal. This is in the form of sculptural relief around the doorway and the window above. It consists of a mixture of Gothic and Italianate motifs, all flattened into a Plateresque delicacy and richness. At the side there usually stands a heavy bell tower. Occasionally, as at Acolman, there is simply an arcaded belfry.

Connected to American built churches were several features invented in the New World to serve the special interests of the Indians. There was a large churchyard, or atrium, walled in, where the Indians could gather in numbers much too great for the church itself. In the atrium were small open chapels before which the natives could gather for mass or more mundane affairs. Often there were other, smaller chapels built at the corners of the atrium for use in processions or as oratories. In the middle of the atrium was usually a large stone cross. All of these elements were customarily carved elaborately with narrative or symbolic decorations. Everything was miniaturized into a kind of Plateresque style much the same as that upon the church facade but betraying more of the Indian technique, which had its origin in flat wood carving. An art form much practiced and well understood by the natives, it is recognizable by its flat planes and angular lines and, compared with the European manner, a distinct roughness of execution. These carvings were always done under clerical supervision to ensure that they remained orthodox in their content.

It has been noted that the Gothic style persisted in Spain well into the sixteenth century. By this time the Renaissance in Italy had run its course of development, passed its climax, and entered its final phase. Only at this point, during the reign of Philip II and with his encouragement, did it conquer Spain. In respect to architecture, the man who fully instituted the change was Juan de Herrera, and the monument that represents it is the palace of the Escorial. This structure was intended to reflect Philip's fanatical and puritanical view of the proper relationship of church and state, and it placed its emphasis upon solemnity. Directly impressed though he was by Michelangelo, and although his intention was to produce a rival to the grandeur of Saint Peter's in Rome, Herrera nevertheless designed a pile as grim as a penitentiary. The gray granite emptiness seems to have complemented Philip's temperament, but it did not result in a style to which the Spaniard was receptive. Toward the end of the century, Herrera designed the Cathedral of Valladolid, one of the barest, darkest, and gloomiest of all the great cathedrals of Spain, but a model for the Spanish Renaissance and particularly influential upon Mexican architects of the cathedral-building period.

After 1560 the Mexican towns began to develop. The growing population required the establishment of new episcopal sees and consequently of cathedrals. The principal centers were Mexico City, Puebla, Guadalajara, Mérida, and Oaxaca.

The cathedrals of Mexico are quite different from those of the European Renaissance in general but do



A mixture of Plateresque styles applied to a Gothic structure composed the current architectural style as Spanish building began in Mexico.

bear a resemblance to the Spanish cathedrals of Valladolid and Málaga. Planned in the late sixteenth century, their construction was delayed because of costs, intrigues, and procrastination. The result was that most of the building continued into the Baroque age long after the influence of Philip and Herrera had waned. The "Renaissance" in Mexico was, consequently, a more exuberant thing than it had been in Spain.

Of them all, the Cathedral of Puebla is most nearly a work of a single era. The plans, similar to those of the basilica in Mexico City, were drawn in the 1550's, but most of the work was done in the 1640's, and it was not finally completed until 1786. Inevitably, changes in plan were made by succeeding bishops and architects, but the Puebla cathedral remains nonetheless closest to the austerity of the Herreran style. In the other metropolitan cathedrals, on the other hand, the anti-Herreran plasticity, the Michelangelesque volutes, the exuberant use of narrative sculpture, and the general intensity of the entire building are Baroque. All of the great cathedrals combine Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque and, in many cases, even later styles as the building programs slowly progressed. It is certainly true that none is unified, and in this respect each is a failure to some degree. However, each is also magnificent and includes features that are truly inspired. In general, decorative details are Italianate.

If the Renaissance was, in a sense, an imposition upon the Spaniard, the Baroque was a style which he could accept quite easily. The Baroque, like the Renaissance, was of Italian origin but it was closely associated with the Counter-Reformation, a religious force at least as Spanish as it was Italian. As developed in Italy, Baroque building and design were usually the products of a new type of artist, the impresario. The impresario was more than an architect, rather a master planner who tried to take into account every aspect of the building and all its sculptural and painted decorations. The workmen under him, artists or otherwise, subjected their personalities to his. The result was work of extraordinary unity, reflecting as it did the genius of a single master. On the other hand, the individual detail, though technically fine, is often disappointing because the man who executed it was not especially committed or inspired. With time the complexities of the Baroque increased, and that which is wanting in the individual detail is more than made up for in the overwhelming effect of the whole. The Baroque forms run to great plasticity, complex interlocking of mass and space, dramatic—even theatrically obvious—control of lighting, much use of the curved line, contorted—even agonized—bodily forms, deep but brilliant color, much gold, and quantity to such an extent that the eye is hardly given a chance to stay still and find fault but is continually led onward to new amazements. In Italy all this is controlled by a kind of formal logic: all parts are integrated into a whole. In Spain the logic is of a different sort. In effect, everything is grafted onto the old Gothic structural plan. The

Acolman, facade

Acolman, retablo

SPANISH AND MEXICAN ARCHITECTURAL PHOTOS FROM PEDRO ROJAS, "HISTORIA GENERAL DEL ARTE MEXICANO"

new Italian form and space effects are not attempted. Instead, a kind of decorative logic is applied, as had been done with each succeeding Spanish style since the early Gothic. Rather than a unity, the Spanish Baroque is a carefully related assembly of separate parts. The parts themselves are carried to extremes of gorgeousness beyond anything the Italian had ever attempted.

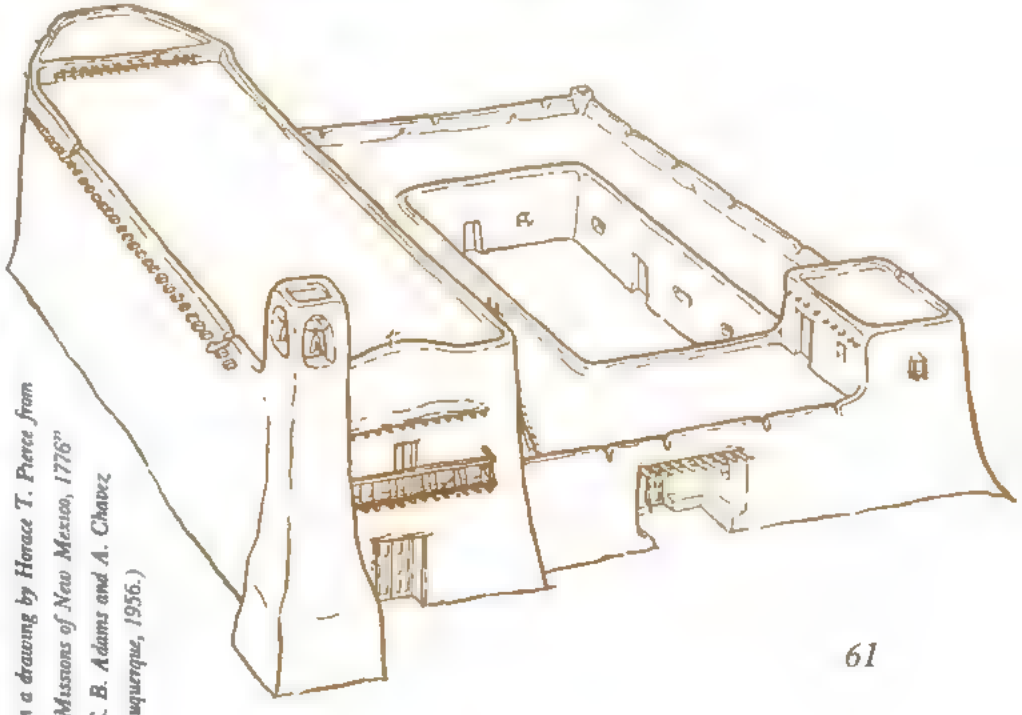
A particularly effective device is used in the Mexican Baroque to interrelate the parts of the church. It is the repetition of the *retablo*, or altarpiece, form upon the church facade. In effect, the facade, organized in the same way as the *retablo*, is a preview of that splendid assembly. The major differences are simply that the door and window replace images in the appropriate locations, and that the wood-gesso-paint-and-gold of the *retablo* is translated into the more durable stone suitable to outdoor exposure. A very special variant is to be noted in certain churches of Puebla. In this region, where the tile industry was oldest and best developed, colorful tile facades sometimes replace the plastic stonework. The *retablos* and facade portals are in essence the same form, the most complex form of the Baroque anywhere, and may be considered together as the key to the development of the Baroque styles in Spain and Mexico.

There are three main periods of the Spanish Baroque. Each began in Spain, but each soon arrived in Mexico and there developed more fully than anything to be seen in the European versions. The basic organization of facade or *retablo* remained the same as that already seen in the "Renaissance" type. There were usually three ranks of images (mostly sculpture with occasional paintings) piled up vertically and separated by columns—single, doubled, or tripled. Similar columns defined the outside edges of the whole work. Although the columns are sometimes of the giant order (running the whole height of the work) they are usually superimposed, thus composing the whole ensemble in three or four stories crowned with a pediment or some complex form derived therefrom which may better be called an attic, pinnacle, or crown.

The clear and relatively severe elements of the classical *retablo* change into the Baroque with the introduction of the *salomónica* style. The *salomónica* is simply a type of column, the shaft of which twists or spirals along its entire length. As an architectural element, it was popularized by José Benito Churriguera the Younger, a Spanish architect active at the turn of the seventeenth century. The *salomónica*, soon introduced into Mexico, became the hallmark of the Baroque style from 1680 through 1730. Other architectural elements also underwent change. The horizontal elements (cornices, and so forth) were often cut or twisted and consequently lost the clarity of their earlier form. Further, the quality of the whole moved away from a neat balance of verticals and horizontals toward one wherein the verticals were distinctly dominant. The simple, unadorned shafts and plain walls of the classic form now were covered with a wealth of small repetitive

Valladolid

San Jerónimo de Taos, showing walled churchyard



From a drawing by Horace T. Pierce from "The Missions of New Mexico, 1776" by E. B. Adams and A. Chavez (Albuquerque, 1956.)

ornamentation, including Renaissance grotesques, garlands, birds, and angels all tied into spirals and braids and an allover welter of foliage. In time the winding garlands seemed to replace the columns, the entire effect thus moving from the stability of the Renaissance to a lightness and frothiness typical of the Baroque. Early examples of this style, such as the portals of the Church of Santa Monica in Guadalajara, retain much Plateresque delicacy. Later, as in the *retablo* of the Church of Santo Domingo in Oaxaca, the whole confection becomes more plastic. Further development sees the bottom third of the *salomónica* turned into a drum decorated with a clutter of foliage and, later, the top third often supporting a bust or a head. The resulting tripartite column is a complex form, indeed, but was soon to be replaced by another, even more complex.

Early in the eighteenth century a Spanish designer named Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo y Fernández built the *Retablo de Santiago* in the Cathedral of Granada in Spain, a work in which the *estípite* replaces the *salomónica*. The *estípite* is difficult to describe, as it is difficult to comprehend visually until carefully examined. In its fully developed form, as it may be seen upon the portal of the Sanctuary of Ocotlán (Tlaxcala), it is of course, a kind of column. The basic elements from the bottom up are: an ornate pedestal upon which rests an inverted pyramid; upon this a pillow or geometric interruption of complex shape; above that an essentially square shaft much cut and decorated, providing a complex element of great possible variation; a termination in a corianthianesque capital. Upon the capital rests a cornice which, however, is so broken up and decorated that it seems as much to belong to the column as to the other portions of itself, which might be quite remote. The cornice-fragment, then, may act as a sort of supercapital. The entire column is decorated with secondary ornamentation of refined complexity. Some of these serve the further function of tying the larger elements together. Hurtado directed a large school of designer-architects, many of whom went to Mexico. His influence there was consequently great.

One of the most important translators of the *estípite* into Mexico was Geronimo Balbás, a Spaniard who built the *Retablo de los Reyes* in the Cathedral of Mexico City between 1718 and 1737. This work, replacing the *salomónicas* with *estípites*, contains statuary and the usual welter of minor decorations, all now increasingly plastic, projecting farther into space or receding into the main body of the work. The *estípite* style was to dominate in Mexico from about 1730 to 1780. The first *estípite* facade, and one of those which had the greatest influence, was the work of Lorenzo Rodríguez, another Spaniard who, in the 1740's, had become the leading architect in Mexico. His masterpiece is the Sagrario Metropolitano, attached to the Cathedral of Mexico City to the right of the facade. In addition to the *estípite* there is another innovation, the niche-pilaster. This element, replacing the older statuary niche, is placed between the *estípites* and consists of a kind of pilaster in relief, covered with small ornaments comprising a canopy and pedestal above and below a small niche for the statue. Rodríguez' influence was predominant through 1790, and his style, which was widely emulated, may be considered to be the high point of the Mexican Baroque, a style which reached a richness far beyond anything known in Spain itself.

The final development within the Baroque style saw the enlargement of the niche-pilaster over the *estípite* itself, which ultimately tended to recede into the surface and nearly disappeared. The horizontal elements also were reduced almost to the point of elimination, and the last vestiges of the original classical organization were weakened practically beyond recognition. Among the best examples of this final Baroque form are the facade of the Sanctuary of Ocotlán, where the *estípites* and niche-pilasters are almost equally balanced, and the *retablos* in the Church of San Agustín at Salamanca, in which the niche-pilasters are greatly enlarged and have even burst through the remnants of the cornices, thus utterly destroying their function.

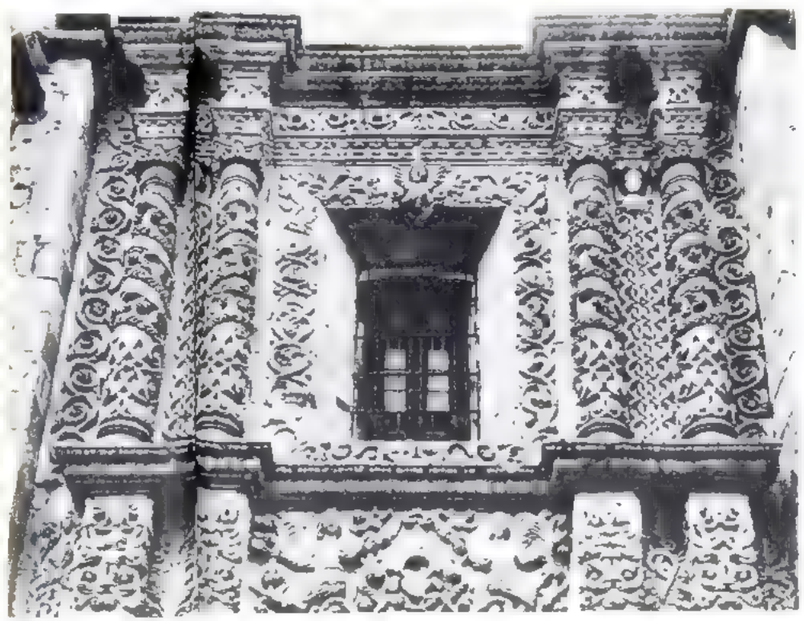
The *retablo* was related to the church interior simply by filling the whole apse in which it was placed. In most instances there were *retablos* in each of the three short arms of the cross which composed the plan of the church, and there might be others in shallow recesses along the nave. Other parts of the interior were also much decorated. In fact, there was hardly a surface anywhere that was not covered with ornament of some sort. This ranged from a minute and delicately gilded and polychromed stucco-work, which was little more than a Plateresque survival of complex and scintillating design that simply enlivened surfaces, to carved decoration of a plasticity ample enough to rival that of the *retablos* themselves. What holds all this together is an underlying symmetry and a basic simplicity in the whole church plan that is apparent under any accumulation of ornament.

The facade was integrated into the building in a different manner. The entire confection was placed possibly within a shell-like niche derived from the old Roman triumphal arch (Ocotlán) or, conversely, might have swelled outward like a folding screen (San Luís Potosí) or, most frequently, simply covered the area of the portal. In any case, it was normally placed between two great cubic tower bases. Although the tower bases tended to become taller and slenderer with time and acquired some decoration of their own, they always remained severely plain in comparison with the *retablo*-front which they flanked. On the other hand, the towers above rose in several stages, two or three plus a cupola, and were treated in a manner very like the portal. Each face of the tower presented a little facade which was filled with *salomónicas*, *estípites*, or whatever was in style, together with the concomitant ornament. The ultimate effect is very logical. The supporting portions of the structure, the tower bases, are heavy and solid.

Cathedral of Puebla

Church of the Soledad, Oaxaca, showing exterior retablo

Church of Santa Monica, Guadalajara, salomónica style



The portions born aloft (towers), or hung like a screen (portal), are frothy and light. The contrast between the plain and fancy is mutually enhancing and very dramatic. The final ornament, the dome, is derived from the Renaissance domes which persisted into the European Baroque. Their main function is to admit light into the crossing and thence into the apses and onto the *retablos*. Their interior surfaces are often covered with the same stucco ornament as are the walls and vaults. Only occasionally are they painted. On the exterior they are customarily tiled and consequently are the most colorful exterior feature. There is no particular relationship between the dome and the towers; on the contrary, they are often at odds with one another.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, it is clear, the Baroque had no place further to go. Long extinguished in Europe, it had given way to a revival of interest, but a purely archeological one, in classical antiquity. After 1770 such an interest was already evident in southern Spain where, indeed, there were some important Roman remains. The Classic Revival in Mexico was largely inspired by Manuel Tolsá. This renowned artist arrived in Mexico City in 1791. Already loaded with honors, he became director-general of the royal academy of art and chief architect of the cathedral, completing portions of that building in a neoclassical style. Practically single-handed, he changed Mexican official taste from the Baroque and so ended the most typical art of the colonial period.

Of all the forms of art that flourished along Spain's northern frontiers in America, that of architecture is most notable. Because of the strong missionary character of the frontier, the most impressive architectural monuments are religious in character; most of them are associated with the Franciscan order which had been assigned to labor in nearly all of those borderlands now within the United States adjacent to Mexico. Architectural style on the frontier, owing to hostile conditions, an unskilled labor force, and limited building materials, was somewhat more primitive, but the style was still the full Baroque. Franciscan buildings in the American Southwest bear many similarities to the older Franciscan Gothic structures in Mexico. Frontier churches were usually of adobe, occasionally of stone, but always heavily walled. Nearly all were roofed with wooden rafters. The exceptions were very few. In California, the Misión San Gabriel Arcángel was vaulted, the vaults resting upon a system of transverse ribs. These have disappeared, however, being replaced by timbers. The most sophisticated of all frontier vaulting systems is found in the Misión San Xavier del Bac at Tucson. In the cloisters and elsewhere, wherever arcades are required, they ordinarily rest upon square piers, since neither the material nor the skill was available to provide the dressed stone necessary for columns.

In plan, the boxlike hall-church is most common, although the cruciform plan may also be found. In either case, the church and its dependencies (cloisters, dormi-

Sagrario Metropolitano, estípite style

Sanctuary of Ocótlan, niche-pilaster style

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SANTA BARBARA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

SAN ANTONIO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

tories, shops, storage areas) are customarily fitted into some quadrilateral arrangement.

Typical of a very early mission is that of San Estéban Rey at Ácoma, New Mexico, which is very large and very primitive. A simple Gothic box of thick adobe, it is roofed by gigantic timbers resting upon large carved wooden corbels. It shows no great engineering sophistication but was produced simply by means of muscle and brawn, which imparts to it a most dynamic quality. The Ácoma Mission was begun in 1629. Restorations date from 1699 and 1924. More developed, as it uses the cruciform plan, is the Mission of Saint Francis of Assisi at Ranchos de Taos. Built in the 1770's, it presents a fortress-like appearance through its thick adobe walls and heavy sloping buttresses. There are two low bell towers upon the facade. The little ornamentation is from the nineteenth century, as is the present roofing. The wooden *retablo* is an interesting rustic variant upon the usual Baroque organization.

In Texas the somewhat later missions show countrified but full Baroque arrangements upon their facades. Little is left of the Misión San Antonio de Valero, at San Antonio, except its facade. Also called the Alamo, the present building was begun in 1778. The portal is arranged in the customary manner: niches and doorway

continued on page 93

Misión San Antonio de Valero—the Alamo

SAN ANTONIO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Frederic Remington's conception of Pike's entry into Santa Fe.

Zebulon M. Pike "Tours" Mexico

BY DONALD JACKSON

Captain Zebulon M. Pike usually behaved as though he would one day become a general. The books he read by the light of a pine-knot campfire were most frequently books on the arts of war. When he doodled in his daily journals, his thoughts might have turned to military engineering as he sketched "a semi-polygon projected regularly agreebly to Vauban."

On a snowy day in 1807, young Pike found himself overseeing the construction of a military post that might not have satisfied French engineer Sébastien Vauban. The tiny log stockade was all that Pike could achieve, however, with a few cottonwood logs and the labor of four frostbitten and hungry soldiers. He had conducted a harrowing expedition from St. Louis, across the high plains and into the Rockies, and was on a branch of the Rio Grande in what is now south-central Colorado. Most of the fifteen men in his command were scattered back along the trail, many unable to travel, waiting for Pike to establish a camp from which to rescue them.

> The stockade from the center of the angle of the bastions [Pike wrote in his journal] was 36 feet square. There were heavy cotton-wood logs, about two feet diameter, laid up all round about six feet, after which lighter ones, until we made it twelve feet in height. . . . We then . . . dug a ditch round the whole four feet wide, and let the water in all round, the earth taken out being thrown against the work formed an excellent rampart against small arms three or four feet high. Our mode of getting in was to crawl over the ditch on a plank, and into a small hole sunk below the level of the work near the river for that purpose.

Considering the nightmare of cold and hunger that he recently had experienced, Pike's situation in the new little fortification must have seemed good to him. He

INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL PARK COLLECTION

Zebulon Pike as painted by Charles Willson Peale after his two great expedition

had brought his men through the Rockies in midwinter, mapped his route, and kept a careful journal. Now, as soon as he could gather in his strays, he would set about building boats with which to descend the river in early spring. Pike happily believed he was on the Red River and that its current would take him home to the military posts along the lower Mississippi.

He was mistaken. Not only had he missed the Red River and come upon the Rio Grande, but he had crossed that river, ascended a branch called the Conejos for about six miles, and built his stockade—a stockade with a moat around it and the U.S. flag flying from a tall cottonwood pole, a stockade sitting solidly and defiantly on Spanish territory.

The voyage that had brought Pike into this awkward proximity to an apprehensive European power had begun with an order from his superior, Brigadier General James Wilkinson. Young Pike had performed well on an earlier expedition up the Mississippi in 1805–6, and General Wilkinson, the commanding general of the U.S. Army, had decided to send him on a more hazardous venture. Pike's assignment was to escort some Osage Indians from St. Louis to their village in what is now western Missouri. He was then to seek out the Pawnees on the Republican River, near the Kansas-Nebraska border, and solicit their good offices in making contact with the Comanches farther west. Having done what he could to bring the Comanches under American domination, Pike was to explore the Arkansas River to its source, then descend the Red River from its headwaters down to the U.S. post at Natchitoches in present Louisiana.

The general's son, Lieutenant James Biddle Wilkinson, was to accompany Pike as far as the Great Bend of the Arkansas (Great Bend, Kansas), then return by way of the Arkansas while Pike made his way west along the same river. A mysterious civilian volunteer was to join the party too—Dr. John H. Robinson, who had been serving as physician to the troops in the St. Louis area.

Historians have repeatedly suggested that Pike's expedition had hidden and unsavory motives and that the young officer carried secret orders from General Wilkinson which were linked with the general's private interests. One of the most incredible figures in American history, Wilkinson managed to hold his position as ranking general in the army while volubly fending off charges that he had once drawn a pension or retainer from the Spanish government (true), that he was the prime mover behind the Aaron Burr conspiracy (probably true), and that he always put his personal concerns above loyalty to his country while serving her in a most sensitive position (yes and no). The most persistent charge that has dogged the general's reputation is that he sent Pike to the West on a private mission, vaguely linked with the Burr conspiracy, and that Pike only pretended to be lost when he missed the Red River and barricaded himself on the Rio Grande. This story is the one we must now consider as it developed in an atmosphere of mutual distrust between the U.S. and Spain.

In the years immediately following the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, the Spaniards were uneasy about their new American neighbors to the east and were not only protesting the extent of the purchase but even the legality of the transaction. There were diplomatic exchanges, border incidents, and a growing realization that nobody really knew the boundaries or the nature of the vast Louisiana Territory. There was talk of war with Spain, especially among the settlers on the western U.S. frontier. The commandant general of the Interior Provinces of New Spain, headquartered in Chihuahua, had tried in vain to intercept the Lewis and Clark Expedition up

the Missouri in 1804–6 and had successfully terminated a U.S. venture up the Red River in 1806.

Pike left St. Louis in July 1806 with strict written orders to avoid the Spaniards. Wilkinson stipulated that Pike should "move with great circumspection, to keep clear of any [Spanish] hunting or reconnoitring parties —and to prevent alarm or offence, because . . . it is the desire of the president, to cultivate the friendship and harmonious intercourse of all the nations of the earth, and particularly our near neighbours the Spaniards." It was a statement that might well protect Pike if he were picked up and questioned by Spanish authorities.

Pike visited the Osage and Pawnee villages as instructed and by late November had approached and studied the great peak which now bears his name. Ascending the Arkansas River to the foot of the Royal Gorge, in Colorado, he mistakenly decided that he was near the head of that river. He left it and followed what he thought was a Spanish trail northward to the waters of the South Platte, then veered west and struck the Arkansas again. It took him many days to get his men down the river. By now their feet were wrapped in rags, and their very survival was based on the lucky discovery of an occasional buffalo. By January 5, 1807, Pike had returned to the site of Canon City, Colorado, from which he had departed on December 10. He had wasted nearly a month and put his men through a cruel test of courage and endurance.

Pike carried with him a map of Mexico and the Southwest drawn by that famous scholar, Alexander von Humboldt. Not yet published, it had been copied in manuscript form when Humboldt had visited Washington in 1804. It was the only remotely reliable map available, and it showed a Red River (Río Rojo) rising in the mountains northeast of Santa Fe and Taos. Pike reasoned that if he could find a pass through the tre-

mendous Sangre de Cristo mountain range now facing him, he would strike the Red River. Unfortunately, Humboldt's map was unreliable in that regard; the particular Red River which Pike was seeking actually rose far to the south and east, in the Llano Estacado of the Texas Panhandle. If Pike were to set out across the Sangre de Cristos, he would inevitably and unwittingly reach the Rio Grande instead, which he proceeded to do.

Because the horses were crippled and weary, Pike left them with Interpreter Baronet Vasquez and Private Patrick Smith in a little stockade at the Canon City site —promising to send for them when he found the Red. Then he set forth with Dr. Robinson and the remaining soldiers, crossed a low range into the Wet Mountain Valley, and prepared to tackle the formidable Sangre de Cristos. While working his way along the foot of that range searching for a pass, Pike first had to abandon Private John Sparks and Private Thomas Daugherty, and later Private Hugh Menaugh, with the assurance that they would be rescued. Their feet were frozen and their toes were becoming gangrenous.

Finally Pike crossed the mountains at Medano Pass, clambered through the billowing sands of what is now the Great Sand Dunes National Monument, and headed across the San Luis Valley. At last he found a river. He records: "When we encamped, I ascended one of the largest hills of sand, and with my glass could discover a large river, flowing nearly north by west, and south by east, through the plains. . . . I returned to camp with the news of my discovery." He crossed what he thought was the Red River, ascended a western branch until he found cottonwood, and began to build his stockade.

Was Pike really lost? One of the ironies of his adventure is the fact that soon after leaving St. Louis he had written to Wilkinson the following bold and ill-advised plan:

> . . . should I encounter a party from the villages near Santa Fe, I have thought it a good policy to give them to understand, that we were about to join our troops near Natchitoches, but had been uncertain about the head waters of the rivers over which we passed: but that *now*, if the commandant general approved of it, we would pay him a visit of politeness [in Santa Fe]. . . .

In other words, Pike was to stray close to Spanish territory, see if he could attract the attention of a Spanish patrol or hunting party, pretend to be lost, and try to get a look at Santa Fe and its environs.

However, there can be little doubt that Pike actually *was* lost. Few geographers or historians who have tracked the expedition through the Arkansas and Wet Mountain valleys, and who know how ignorant Pike was of the region, can avoid the conclusion that he was confused and that when he found the Rio Grande and encamped there he thought he was proceeding according to the plan to wander near Spanish territory.

Actually his plan was working. Wrong river or not, he was near enough to Santa Fe to have had a good chance of attracting the attention of Spanish authorities. But he launched the Mexican phase of his expedition by doing something so inept and obvious that he hardly could have expected to deceive anyone. He allowed Dr. Robinson to go wandering off to the west to collect a debt from a Frenchman living near Santa Fe. "The doctor having some pecuniary demands in the province of New Mexico, conceived this to be the most eligible point for him to go in, and return previous to all my party having joined me from the Arkansaw. . . ." Dr. Robinson set out westward, following up the Conejos for a distance; he had no notion of where Santa Fe was situated, but according to the Humboldt map it would lie to the southwest.

Encountering some Ute Indians who took him to Santa Fe, Dr. Robinson "was received with great kindness by the governor," Joaquín del Real Alencaster. In a footnote which Pike added to his journal after it had been set in type, he made no effort to conceal the motive for the doctor's excursion: "Our views were to gain a knowledge of the country, the prospect of trade, force, &c. whilst, at the same time, our treaties with Spain guaranteed to him, as a citizen of the United States, the right of seeking the recovery of all just debts or demands. . . ."

Apparently it occurred to Governor Alencaster that this might indeed have been the doctor's reason for coming in. Robinson claimed that he was with a party of hunters, but something in his manner made the governor suspicious enough to investigate further.

Back at the stockade, while Pike was hunting on February 16, he sighted two horsemen on the summit of a distant hill. He says that he "endeavoured to avoid them at first," but did not succeed. They proved to be an Indian and a Mexican dragoon who advised Pike that Dr. Robinson had reached Santa Fe. Pike took them back to his stockade and explained his intention of descending the Red River. He added at the same time,

A replica of Pike's stockade on the Conejos, an affluent of the Rio Grande. It was built following specifications outlined by Pike in his journal, and it is in the original location. Pike used cottonwood logs; the replica was constructed of pine logs

". . . if governor Alencaster would send out an officer with an interpreter . . . I would do myself the pleasure to give his excellency every reasonable satisfaction as to my intentions in coming on his frontiers."

The two men rode off, neglecting, as Pike later claimed, to tell him he was not on the Red River. While awaiting further developments, the officer kept his men at work on the stockade and attempted to assemble his whole detachment again. Private Menaugh was brought in, but the two other soldiers, Sparks and Daugherty, were unable to march with the detail sent across the mountains for them: "They sent on to me some of the bones taken out of their feet," Pike said, "and conjured me by all that was sacred, not to leave them to perish far from the civilized world. Ah! Little did they know my heart, if they could suspect me of conduct so ungenerous." Two volunteers, Sergeant William E. Meek and Private Theodore Miller, then offered to go all the way back to the Arkansas and bring on Vasquez, Smith, and the horses—a distance of more than 180 miles through deep snow.

"As I began to think it was time we received a visit from the Spaniards or their emissaries," Pike noted in his journal, "I established a lookout guard on the top of a hill all day and at night a sentinel in a bastion on the land side." The Spaniards took his bait on February 26. A detachment of fifty dragoons and fifty mounted militiamen appeared, under Lieutenants Ignacio Saltelo and Bartholomew Fernandez. Pike invited the two officers to crawl into his stockade, over his interesting moat, and "they appeared astonished but entered without further hesitation." *continued on page 89*

WAGONS TO CHIHUAHUA

BY ROBERT SCHICK

In the eyes of many visitors, San Antonio, Texas, in the decade following the Civil War was not one town but two—an antiquarian one dreaming of its colorful Hispanic and bold revolutionary past, and a new town that was progressive but growing increasingly prosaic. There was the feeling that history was something that had been made here rather than something still in the making. Those who felt that way were suffering from historical myopia. The great cattle drives were at their height then, and the town was bustling with the activities of covered-wagon freighters.

If the San Antonio visitor of ninety odd years ago wanted to see dynamic and colorful scenes, he could go to the environs of the intersection of present-day South Laredo and Santa Rosa streets. Today's tourist, unless he is well posted on southwestern history, will have little reason to stop there. But in the sixties and seventies of the last century that intersection was the liveliest place in town. Still called "Chihuahua" by old-time residents, it was the spot where the wagon trains of the Chihuahua Trail, or the Texas-Chihuahua, gathered.

San Antonio was a transfer and redistribution point on the year-round freighters' trail which stretched from Indianola on the Texas coast to Ciudad Chihuahua, in Mexico. The trail was one of the chief commercial routes between the United States and a large part of northern Mexico; indeed, it was a natural road between the Mexican state of Chihuahua and the sea lanes of the Gulf of Mexico.

Cargoes of high value were carried in the wagon trains over the Texas-Chihuahua Trail. The source of much of the trade was the mining industry of northern Mexico which produced large amounts of silver, copper, lead, and gold. The greater part of this production, in the form of bullion and minted coins, was carried to the American and overseas markets in the lurching beds of covered wagons which followed the trail, first to the Gulf of Mexico port of Indianola, and later to the succession of railheads which kept edging along the Rio Grande frontier. In 1876 after the peak years had passed, the single wagon train of August Santleben carried, one way from Chihuahua, a cargo valued at $850,000. (According to Josiah Gregg, the value of all goods carried over the Santa Fe Trail in 1855, a peak year, was estimated at $750,000.) Because of the opulence of the Chihuahua trade, this trail was menaced by Indians and outlaws to a greater degree, perhaps, than was most any other freighting trail on the continent.

In length the Texas-Chihuahua was four hundred miles longer—twelve hundred miles as opposed to eight hundred—than the more famous Santa Fe Trail. It was also dustier, drier, hotter, rockier, thornier, and altogether more trying. It took more out of men, mules, and oxen, and was harder on wagons and gear. At its height there were probably more traders involved; at least two hundred outfits engaged in the Chihuahua trade.

There are actually two historic trails between points in the United States and Ciudad Chihuahua. The earliest was an extension of the Santa Fe Trail opened between the Missouri frontier and New Mexico in the

Military Plaza, San Antonio, as seen by the Emory survey of the boundary between the United States and Mexico. From William H. Emory, "Report United States and Mexican Boundary Survey," U.S. 34th Congress, 1st Session, House Ex. Doc. 135, Vol. I (1857).

1820's. It ran south from Santa Fe to El Paso and thence across the open desert country to Chihuahua. After the termination of the Mexican War in 1848, Americans became increasingly aware of trade opportunities with the borderlands of Mexico. For their part, the merchants, ranchers, and mine owners south of the border were anxious to find a shorter route to the American market and one with a more direct connection with coastal points. A route to the Texas coast was the logical one. The beginnings of such a trail already existed in the busy freighting road that led from seawater to San Antonio. The second Chihuahua Trail, then, the one destined to be the high road of commerce, had its origin on the shore of Matagorda Bay in Texas.

Along this shore there is a place called Powderhorn Bayou, and, close by, another called Indian Point. The only residents of either place today are pelicans and sea gulls. Here and there in this sandy waste are a few salt-encrusted stone foundations and an old cistern or two. These relics are hardly convincing remains to back up the statement that here, at this silent place at the edge of the sea, once stood an important frontier port named Indianola, a bustling town housing several thousand people. It has disappeared now, except for those paltry stones beneath the wind-shaped salt cedars. Two killer storms, one in the seventies and another in the eighties, destroyed the town. Before it died, the port city on the gulf had seen some stirring times.

The Texas-Chihuahua Trail was not the first to terminate at Powderhorn Bayou. During colonial times

Spanish traders made irregular calls to unload cargo to be hauled in ox carts to San Antonio. When Spanish Texas became a part of Mexico, traffic on the trail increased. And after the formation of the Republic of Texas, the port town of Indianola was founded, and the road from Powderhorn Bayou to San Antonio became one of the busiest in the Southwest.

After the war with Mexico, American traders pushed west beyond San Antonio to supply the new line of U.S. Army posts in the Indian country. By 1850 the first wagon train had pushed through the Apache country and completed the round trip from Indianola to Chihuahua.

Through the 1850's, business prospered on the Texas-Chihuahua Trail. While few freighters grew rich, the prospect for profit during the next decade was rosy enough to attract many train owners. But with the coming of the Civil War, the Chihuahua trade soon dried up. Military posts west of San Antonio were abandoned, and Apache camp fires appeared on the parade ground at Fort Davis, the lonely cavalry post in the heart of the Davis Mountains west of the Pecos. Traders were no longer safe on the Chihuahua Trail as San Antonio once more became an outpost in the wilderness.

Once the war was over, trade with Chihuahua was quickly reopened. Wagons took to the trail almost the moment the federal blockade of the gulf was lifted. But profits were slim and trips infrequent until 1867. Unprotected by troops, the first postwar outfits over the trail encountered stalking Apache bands, and political difficulties attendant upon the French intervention in Mexico curtailed the trade. With the execution of Maximilian which ended French rule in 1867, the Mexican market quickly boomed to new high levels.

The freight carried from the United States to Mexico was varied, but the big payloads were the heavy cargoes —mining machinery and baled cotton. The Mexican mine owners, before 1870, had operated with crude equipment. In the post-Maximilian era, Mexico under Porfirio Díaz began importing American and European know-how and machines to expand and renovate the industry. Indianola on the gulf was the nearest seaport to which machinery bound for north Mexico could be shipped, and the Texas-Chihuahua Trail was the natural

land route over which to carry it. The heavier machines were dismantled at dock side, loaded on the covered wagons, transported to the mining region beyond Chihuahua City, and reassembled by engineers at the mine sites. The lighter goods carried in quantity over the trail were processed cloth, tools, coffee, flour, glassware, chinaware, whiskey and wines, firearms, and books and periodicals.

On the return trips the trains regularly carried bullion, newly minted coins (generally stamped out by privately owned mints—often operated by Americans—which were licensed by the Mexican government), and heavy loads of cowhides consigned to American and overseas tanneries. Perhaps the most unusual cargo ever carried over the trail was a huge meteorite shipped to Philadelphia in 1875 to be placed in the Mexican exhibit of the Centennial Exhibition.

The high rate charged on goods was $180 per ton. Mining firms paid that sum for ore shipped out of Mexico, and coined money was shipped at the rate of $25 for each thousand dollars of value.

It was not wagon commerce alone that followed the bonanza trail to Mexico during the period between 1867 and 1874. The Chihuahua Trail is seldom thought of as a cattle trail; yet, during this span of years many herds from Texas were driven over it to satisfy the Mexican market. By 1868 raids by Comanches and Apaches and devastations brought on by the political and military strife during the French intervention had stripped many of the herds from the great haciendas and ranchos of north Mexico. Texas cattlemen began trailing herds over the Chihuahua to restock these big spreads, using cowboys and techniques tested on the trail to Kansas. But there was a difference: the trail to Mexico was longer, rougher, and more dangerous.

One of the chief markets for Texas cattle was the huge Terrazas Hacienda, probably the world's largest ranch. In the late 1860's and early seventies it might have been possible to see at such a watering place on the trail as Leon Springs, west of the Pecos, two or more Chihuahua wagon trains camped alongside a bedded-down herd of a thousand or two Mexico-bound longhorns. It must have been a stirring sight.

The writer has followed the approximate route (and at times the very tracks) of a considerable section of the old trail. The trail through the trans-Pecos region traversed a land which has changed very little from that which the freighters knew. Elsewhere, the landscape has been altered only superficially, while still other long stretches of trail country have been transformed

View of Indianola, 1860. Located on Matagorda Bay, Indianola was a booming port on the Gulf of Mexico during the height of the Chihuahua Trail days.

SAN ANTONIO PUBLIC LIBRARY

dramatically by man and his machines. But just how did the trail appear to the teamster who cracked his rawhide whip over twenty straining mules during the 1870's?

The long trail to Mexico began on the docks of Indianola's Powderhorn Bayou. Wagons lined the waterfront. Gulls excited by the commotion wheeled overhead or dived down among the big prairie schooners for a closer inspection. Ships' whistles sounded, bells rang; Irish and Negro stevedores shouted and sang; teamsters cursed restless mules. When the whooping and shouting from the wharves indicated loading for one train was finished, another train creaked into place beside the lines of steamships and square-riggers.

Indianola was booming. Its rutted streets were lined with prospering stores, raucous taverns, and hotels offering perhaps the best food and lodging this side of New Orleans. The town's future was linked to that of the Chihuahua Trail, and both town and trail seemed secure in the early 1870's. The destroying hurricanes and the displacing railroads were yet to come.

From the coast, the trail bore northwest through the old haunts of the Karankawa Indians—the dreaded "Kronks" who were giants by nature and who sometimes exhibited cannibalistic tendencies. It worked its way through thickets of somber, bearded live oaks, passed Chocolate Bayou, and followed the Guadalupe River to the cow town of Victoria. Now flush on the grassy coastal plain, it veered west by south to Fannin and historic Goliad. Turning northwestward again, it passed Helena. Living there in the 1850's, Thomas Ruckman, a Princeton alumnus, gives us an idea of the extent of the traffic on the trail during the pre-Civil War era:

> All of these slow-moving vehicles, constantly crawling one after another in a steady stream, remind me of a great cloud of smoke that seems to be winding and worming its way along this road. Day after day, month after month, year after year, this great serpent keeps crawling over the prairies past our town.

From Helena, the trail continued to the Carvajal Crossing of the Cibolo and, still bearing in a westerly direction, reached the San Antonio River. It then followed the cottonwood and live oak-bordered River of the Padres to the Alamo City.

San Antonio! Probably the most picturesque life in America thronged its plazas, but those plazas were muddy bogs when it rained and were fogged with dust during dry spells. People drank from shallow wells and threw their garbage into their backyards. Where the freight wagons gathered, great squares of baled hay and mounds of barreled oats stood, and here rats congregated and then spread throughout the town. Following them were clouds of flies. But to offset these unsavory conditions that prevailed in much of the town, there was the pleasing scent of roses and semi-tropical flowers, and the people had a certain charm and a flair for living.

The fact that San Antonio was the last "big" town the trailmen would see before they reached Ciudad Chihuahua, made visits to its fleshpots a highlight of the journey for many teamsters. For those who sought other diversions, there was always the San Antonio River, winding its way delightfully through the town. A guidebook of the time, after extolling the sylvan charms on display along the stream, reported that "swimming along the river is common and the ecstasy of beholding long tresses and females of fine form and figure is hourly enjoyed."

The poet Sidney Lanier was in San Antonio and saw the Chihuahua wagons. From the remarkable iron bridge on Commerce Street—brought dismantled in a dozen wagons from Indianola—he described the sight:

> Yonder comes a long train of enormous, blue-bodied covered wagons, built high and square in the stern, much like a fleet of Dutch galleons, and lumbering in a way that suggests cargoes of silver and gold. These are drawn by fourteen mules each who are harnessed in four tiers, and that next the wagon of two. The lead mules were wee fellows, veritable mulekins, and the next tier larger and so on, to the two wheel mules who are as large as can be procured. Yonder fares slowly another train of wagons drawn by great horned oxen whose evident tendency to hump and fore-shoulder irresistibly persuade one of the cousinship to the buffalo.

Actually the freighters westward bound did not have much time to spend in San Antonio. The town was the remarshaling center for the long haul to Mexico. Here wagons were put in top condition, droves of new mules were trained for the harness, provisions and arms were stocked.

Small, hardy Mexican mules had largely replaced oxen by the late 1860's. The move was in keeping with the booming, post-Civil War market which demanded greater trail speed. Oxen averaged about twelve miles a day. Mules could do twice that. The average train usually consisted of about fifteen wagons with from

fourteen to twenty mules to the hitch. A caravan might have as many as two hundred first-line mules in service. When their training was completed, the mules were often amazingly disciplined. At hitch-up time a truly proficient caporal, or chief herder—usually a Mexican—could stand in the middle of a corral filled with milling animals, crack his whip, and within five minutes every mule would be in place, his head bridle-ready, facing his handler.

The carriers used on the Texas-Chihuahua before the Civil War were large, clumsy "Texas wagons" usually pulled by "the largest horned oxen in the world," and huge, two-wheeled Mexican carts employing six to eight spans of mules. Just before the war, A. Staacke, of San Antonio, a supplier to the Chihuahua Trail, imported modified Conestoga wagons built especially for the rough going on southwestern trails. Possessing great capacity and strength, they were fit vehicles for the postwar breed of Chihuahua traders. The running gears were based on solid iron axles and massive three-inch spindles. The wheels were of large diameter —the hind ones as tall as a man—and rimmed with iron tires. Large as these wagons appeared in comparison with the military vehicles and Mexican-style carts also seen on the Texas trails, they were much smaller and different in styling from the traditional Conestogas of the East. As Sidney Lanier described them, they were "high and square in the stern" while the regular Conestoga had a more arching symmetry. The typical Chihuahua wagon just described could carry a seven-thousand-pound load. There was a Mexican version, with sides made of great, wooden pegs, which could bulge with a ten-thousand-pound load. Capacities greater than this would have been impossible in wagons expected to buck the mountains west of the Pecos.

As departure time from San Antonio neared, trail cooks would be busy stocking supplies of dried beans, cured meats, tortillas, parched corn, and, under the supervision of the wagon masters, whiskey and tequila. Even more vital, especially for the Anglo hands, was an ample supply of chewing tobacco and snuff. Spare wagon parts, wheels, hubs, axles, brake iron, were assembled. Guns and ammunition were accounted for, gun for gun and round for round. The arms carried on the Chihuahua trains were ordinarily those used throughout the West of that period. In the earlier stages of the trail, the standard rifle was the single-shot Sharp's "needle gun." In the later period, the seven-shot Spencer carbine and still later the rapid-fire Winchesters were in general use. Texas freighters, like Texas cowmen, would have felt themselves naked without their favorite Colt sidearms, usually of heavy caliber.

A word here about the men of the Texas-Chihuahua themselves: About two-thirds of the teamsters were Mexicans whose home base was either in San Antonio or Chihuahua; the others were Anglos, Germans, and Irish, for the most part. There were outfits wholly Mexican and there were mixed ones. Wagon masters received a top pay of $75 per month, caporals $30, drivers $20, and herders $15 to $18.

To these men, the trail driving from Indianola to San Antonio meant work. From San Antonio onward, it meant even harder work under a hotter sun but also excitement and danger of one kind or another. When the cry "Wagons Ho" was given, and the train moved out of San Antonio, the real trail venturing began.

The route was directly west to Castroville and Uvalde, usually undisturbed, but within the range of the Lipans and Comanches, though in 1868 the Indians swept so close to San Antonio itself that they must have been able to smell the tortillas frying in the open air booths of Military Plaza. The trains followed a fairly safe and busy road to Fort Clark, 150 miles out, which was the real jumping-off place. The village of Brackett nearby was the last strictly civilian settlement before Presidio in the Big Bend of the Rio Grande was reached six hundred miles beyond. Fort Clark was one of the chief bases of the U. S. Army during the Indian wars of western Texas. Reactivated after the war, blue-coated troopers, many of them former Negro slaves, often gathered to give the wagon trains rousing greetings and farewells. The sight of them was comforting for the freighters to remember as they pushed deeper into the Indian country.

Thirty-five miles beyond Fort Clark, the trail reached the Rio Grande for the first time. It would make a half-thousand-mile loop to the north before reaching it again. Here at San Felipe Springs (the modern Del Rio) was probably the most beautiful campsite between the coast and Chihuahua. After water barrels were refilled, the trains headed northeast. Twelve miles out, they reached the first crossing of Devil's river; there were eighteen more fordings after that. The first crossing was an idyllic spot, willow-bordered and rimmed by graceful hills. The river here was five hundred

feet wide, crystal-sheened, and placid-flowing.

Beyond the first crossing was Painted Cave, a regular stop. Pictographs on the walls portrayed Indian war dances and scalping scenes. There was even one showing a gold-braided officer of the eighteenth-century Spanish army.

For the next seventy miles, the trail played tag with Devil's River as it wound through Dead Man's Pass, skirted abandoned Camp Hudson where tumbleweeds choked the silent barracks, and reached Beaver's Lake, a regular campsite at the eighteenth crossing. Forty-five miles beyond was Howard's Well, the site in 1872 of one of the most grisly tragedies on the Chihuahua Trail. Captain Cooney of the Ninth Colored Cavalry out of Fort Clark was scouting the middle Pecos, when he came upon what was left of Anastacio Gonzales' wagon train. The wagons were still burning, and fifteen mutilated bodies lay scattered over the ground. One blackened body was staked out on the tongue of a blazing prairie schooner. (The Comanches occasionally honored a wagon master with special attention!) The raiders were later identified as a band of Kiowa-Comanches.

Mexican freighters on the Chihuahua Trail often used large two-wheeled carts of the kind shown here. These rugged vehicles were among the largest ever built for long-distance transport.

DAUGHTERS OF THE TEXAN REVOLUTION LIBRARY

The next fifty miles to the northwest brought the trains to another abandoned cavalry post, Fort Lancaster, where a welcome stream of cold, clear water flowed at the base of a high hill, the last good water for many miles. From this camp a branch of the trail led east to Fort Concho. Chihuahua freighters played an important role in supplying Fort Concho, which in the middle 1870's was the base for General Ranald S. Mackenzie's campaign which finally broke the Comanche nation.

The main route continued northwestward to the first crossing of the Pecos River. It was along this stretch that August Santleben reported turning his long wagon train out of the path of an unusually large herd of buffalo in full stampede. Buffalo in such numbers were seldom seen below the Cap Rock barrier of the Staked Plains, certainly not this far south, but hunters' guns had by this time split the great southern herd and forced part of it to seek refuge on the middle Pecos.

Crisscrossing the twisting, alkali-filled Pecos and bucking clouds of caliche dust, the caravans struck north to Horsehead Crossing on the Pecos. At this famous ford as late as the 1890's the skulls of hundreds of horses—stolen in Mexico by the Comanches and abandoned here to die from overdrinking the terrible water of the Pecos—could be seen bleaching in the sun. From Horsehead the trail bore west to Camp Stockton, a small cavalry post at the renowned Comanche Springs, hard on the "alky desert." The sweet water in the freighters' barrels was carefully conserved in this country of "the god-awfulest water in creation."

Not far beyond Fort Stockton, the faint blue line of the Davis Mountains was sighted. From the time the trains were in the shadows of the foothills the night guards were doubled, and by day the wagons shortened their spacings in the column. This was the country of the Mescalero Apaches, a fiercer breed than the Lipans, and every freighter on the Chihuahua could expect at least a near brush with these Indians between "Fort Stock" and the Rio Grande.

The first regular campsite beyond the post was Leon Waterhole. From this place a shortcut, blazed by John Burgess in the late sixties, led through a grassy valley between the Davis and the Glass ranges and rejoined the old route at Paisano Pass at the head of Alamito Creek. The original trail continued in a westerly direction to the head of the Limpia Canyon and the passage through the Davis Mountains. Here at last after

hundreds of miles of sun-baked, water-scarce open country, the freighters came to this cleft in the mountains where they enjoyed the shade of pine, fir, and oak, and the cooling shadows thrown across the trail by the rims of the canyon. The water that flowed through the canyon was sparkling and clear. But the freighters had mixed emotions on entering the Limpia. At Wild Rose Pass, where fluted rock walls towered a thousand feet above the trail, the lumbering wagon trains were vulnerable to Indian attack. Espejo, or Looking Glass, a venerable and bellicose Mescalero chief, took a particular delight in jumping stages, caravans, and army patrols here.

Where Limpia Canyon widened near the base of Crouching Lion Mountain stood the full regimental post, Fort Davis, and its small but lively satellite village. Although it prided itself on being the most important place on the Chihuahua Trail between San Antonio and Chihuahua, the fort was described by an old-time resident as being "east of nothing, west of nowhere, and in the middle of trouble." Records indicate that Fort Davis was under Indian attack more frequently than any other installation on the post-Civil War frontier in the Southwest, and Chihuahua teamsters more than once joined the garrison in repelling raids.

From Fort Davis the main trail passed through Muzquiz Canyon, took a tack toward the southeast, and joined the shortcut at Paisano Pass, which is one of the few places where the ruts made by the Chihuahua wagons can still be plainly seen. The first stop beyond the pass was Antelope Springs where the water was good, and the views of the mountains—the smoky-blue Davis to the northwest and the lilac-blue Chinatis to the southwest—were sweeping. Now the tracks turned nearly south as the trail led down Alamito Creek toward the Rio Grande. The last forty miles to Presidio were hilly, and the trail was often covered with drifting sand which made the going slow and laborious.

Set in the sandy trough of the Rio Grande and surrounded by harsh, dry mountains, Presidio on the east bank was on the frontier between the United States and Mexico. The town was bilingual, bicultural, and there was much intermingling of blood and a freedom from prejudice not known on this part of the border since trail days. In the summer the town was so hot that some of the teamsters swore they could slice the heat waves with their bowie knives. The single wide

continued on page 87

The revival of mining in Mexico after the French intervention under Maximilian accounted for much of the volume in the Chihuahua commerce. In this photograph a burro train carrying ore to Chihuahua has just been unloaded and is waiting return to the mines.

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About the Authors

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Sidney B. Brinckerhoff, *assistant director for museums at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, is a recognized authority in American military history of the southwestern frontier. New York born, he came to Arizona after studying at Princeton University, and at present is working on the doctorate at the University of Arizona. His publications have dealt largely with the arms and equipment of the Spanish, Mexican, and American armies in the Southwest. In 1965 he co-authored* Lancers for the King *with Odie B. Faulk.*

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Ruth I. Mahood *is chief curator of the history division of the Los Angeles County Museum and has served on various historical commissions for the state of California. In 1964 Miss Mahood was given an award of merit for outstanding work in the field of California history by the California Historical Society, and in 1965 an award of achievement was presented to her by the Civil War Centennial Commission.*

Robert M. Quinn *is a professor of art at the University of Arizona. During the past six summers, he has been teaching at the University of Arizona Summer School at Guadalajara. His publications have centered in the areas of Spanish and Spanish Colonial art. In 1961 he published* Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo *and is currently working on a larger book on the Hispano-Flemish style and preparing material for another on Spanish Colonial architecture.*

Donald Jackson *is editor of the University of Illinois Press and has written extensively on the trans-Mississippi West. Recently he has specialized in the editing and annotating of documentary editions, including* Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition *(Urbana, 1962), and* The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike *(Norman, 1966). He is now undertaking a multivolume edition of the journals and papers of John Charles Frémont.*

Robert Schick *of Dallas is a lifelong student of history and folkways and is a free-lance writer and photographer and former editor of a Texas weekly newspaper. He first became intrigued with the subject of the Chihuahua Trail when for several years he lived in the "Trail" country on the Mexican border.*

WESTERN BOOKS

■ THE JESUITS AND THE INDIAN WARS OF THE FAR NORTHWEST. **By Robert Ignatius Burns, S.J.** *Yale Western Americana Series, 11 (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1966. 512 pp., illus., maps, notes, biblio., index, $10).*

BY JAY GURIAN

The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Far Northwest by Robert Ignatius Burns, S.J., is a valuable contribution to the history of the Jesuits in North American settlement, but it is also an invaluable contribution to western history in general. When Father Burns says in his preface that "this study is the product of twenty years' intermittent research in American and European manuscript depositories," the reader can be sure the time was well invested, for Father Burns obviously put two decades worth of critical thought into interpreting his information.

A critical approach is the striking, perhaps unique quality of this book. Whether he is working out the puzzle of personalities, policies, and events that culminated in the Hell Gate Treaty in 1855, or the strategy of the Nez Perces War twenty years later, the author approaches his subject from every side. In a straightforward style (which occasionally lacks grace) he pokes his facts in sensitive spots, draws back to score their reactions, then pokes again. The result of such critical patience is an awareness of complexity unusual in the writing of western history, as when he comments in the first chapter on the "two worlds":

> Here, then, were two separate worlds, a Red and a White. Neither of them was really homogeneous. Neither followed a simple pattern either within itself or in relating to its counterpart. Army policy was often opposed to territorial policy, and both were subject to large change. . . .
>
> So the White entertained a curiously ambivalent attitude toward the Indian. He feared and hated him on the warpath, yet scorned him when peaceful. For decades the Nez Perces were condemned as tame Indians, underrated and even mistreated despite their unswerving friendship for the Whites. They won fame and respect only when they finally went to war. Thus the settler's feelings toward the Indian fluctuated between arrogance, fear and righteous anger.

Father Burns is able to find "ambivalence," to see complexity through the gunsmoke and battlefield dust, partly because he writes without benefit of thesis, and without recourse to romance. His Far Northwest is not Turner country at all. His landscape descriptions are matter-of-fact, and there are no "wild adventures" and cineramic cavalry charges. As a result, both in content and manner, his chapters probably come closer to "re-creating the actuality of past events" than most monographs about western settlement.

But this is not to say that Burns is entirely free of bias. At times he stretches interpretations to prove that the role played by the Jesuits as mediators between the government, the army, and the Indian was crucial. Occasionally he is too intent to prove that the Jesuits were discriminated against. On the other hand, it is clear from the record that the Jesuits did often help whites understand the Indian position, and the Indians to appreciate the inevitability of white demands. There is no question that Father Burns has good cause to be proud of the work many Jesuit priests were able to do, sometimes for decades, in a physical and political wilderness.

Throughout the book the author lavishly documents *all* sides of each event, perhaps excessively. Using no "technique," he writes common-sense history, a blend of thoroughness and sympathy, assuming only that the history which humans made in the Far Northwest was as complex and full of contradiction as humans themselves have always been. Father Burns has a genuine understanding of the ironies that resulted from attempts to apply Christian principles in the settlement of the West. And it is to his credit also that he takes pains always to show the human qualities of the Jesuit Fathers. He is not above picturing a priest as irascible or impatient.

The same believability will be found in his descriptions of the daily Jesuit and Indian routine and of the missions they built together:

> A bewildering variety of materials had to be imported or contrived. Bells, statues, vestments, and all the ecclesiastical appurtenances were needed. Saws were devised from wagon tires, windows from scraped deerskin, rope from woven grass, and wheels from tree sections. . . . A mission was soon able to produce its own bricks, candles, soap, smoking pipes, potato sugar, bronze crosses, chisels, bellows, grindstones. . . .

The book ends with a thorough bibliography of lay and religious sources, followed by sixteen pages of photographs and illustrations well chosen to give an added sense of the place and time. There are a sufficient number of maps for the reader to locate places and to follow events. But the most significant feature of the book is its evidence that the history of the West in its true complexity can be readably written.

(Jay Gurian is associate professor at Wisconsin State University at La Crosse. His interests include studies of western literature and myth, and the formation of Indian policy.)

■ THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS AND THE OPENING OF THE NORTHWEST. **By Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.** *Yale Western Americana Series, 10 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965. 705 pp., illus., maps, notes, biblio., index, $12.50).*

BY JAMES C. OLSON

The gallant struggle of Chief Joseph and the patriot bands to preserve their way of life in the Inland Empire has long excited the admiration and evoked the sympathy of those who have had an interest either in the Indians or the West. Indeed, for many Joseph and the Nez Perces have come to symbolize the tragedy of the American Indian, with the result that much popular interest in the tribe has concentrated on the great fighting retreat of 1877 and Chief Joseph's ultimate surrender. These tragedies, however, can be understood only as the climax of a long series of events which brought about the slow destruction of the Nez Perces and their way of life.

In this big, handsomely printed, well-written book, Alvin Josephy tells the story of the Nez Perces from the time The Twisted Hair welcomed Lewis and Clark to Joseph's surrender to General Howard and Colonel Miles. It is as much a history of the settlement of the Northwest as of the Nez Perces, and because of this it places the role of the tribe in proper perspective.

Josephy recognizes that the tales of the Nez Perces are oft told, but he has added many details, particularly from the fur-trade and missionary periods. Indeed, his treatment of the missionaries and their impact upon the Indians provides new insights not only into the work of the Spaldings, the Whitmans, and others in the Northwest, but into the whole missionary movement—its successes, its failures, and its contradictions. The case of the Spaldings is illustrative. They were, as Josephy points out, the most successful of the early Protestant missionaries in the Northwest, "teaching a strong, vital native people to read and write, to raise livestock and make a living from the soil, to spin, sew, and weave, to grind wheat into flour, to saw logs into boards for buildings, and to make hoes and plows out of iron." Their success, however, sowed the seeds of catastrophe, deepening the division between those who would follow the white man's way and those who would not.

For most tribes, conflict between "progressives" and those who tried to retain the old way of life was one of the principal features of the process of subjugation and acculturation. It existed in the Nez Perces to a marked degree, and Josephy's penetrating analysis of it constitutes one of the book's more important contributions.

The bibliography indicates that the author has made use of a wide variety of manuscript and published sources, although the documentation does not reflect a particularly heavy reliance upon manuscript materials. The text is supplemented by thirty-two pages of "Discussion Notes," which treat in some detail topics such as the origin of the name "Nez Perce," the kinds of horses used by the Nez Perces, and various aspects of the tribe's involvement with fur traders and missionaries.

Josephy states that his book "was written primarily for the general reader, unacquainted with the Nez Perce story." He has succeeded admirably in the achievement of his purpose and, in addition, has produced a work that will be of value for the specialist.

(James C. Olson, associate dean of the Graduate College, University of Nebraska, has written Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem *[Lincoln, 1965] and other books.)*

■ THOMAS MORAN: ARTIST OF THE MOUNTAINS. **By Thurman Wilkins** *(Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. 315 pp., illus., app., biblio., index, $7.95).*

BY JOHN C. EWERS

It is refreshing these days to find a new book devoted to a western artist and his works which is not overloaded

with superlatives penned by a hero-worshiping writer whose fascination for his man has colored his judgment of the man's artistic accomplishments. It is also most appropriate that this first book-length biography of Thomas Moran should appear on the fiftieth anniversary of the National Park Service. Whether or not Moran was a great artist is still open to debate. But there can be little question that he was an important American landscape painter (as Wilkins insists), who was especially important historically because some of his colorful landscapes helped to persuade Congress to establish the first unit in our national park system—the Yellowstone—in 1872. His sketches and paintings in a dozen other wilderness areas also influenced Congress to preserve the areas as national parks.

In scholarly yet readable fashion, the author traces Moran's early life, from his birth in England to his young manhood in Philadelphia, the home of so many of the earlier artists who interpreted the American West, to his travels abroad, where his interest in color was stimulated by firsthand studies of the works of the English master, Joseph M. W. Turner. As guest artist with F. V. Hayden's western exploring expedition in 1871, Moran discovered that riot of color which he found most challenging to his abilities. He was thirty-five years of age in 1872 when he scored his first spectacular success with his canvas, "The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone," which hung for many years in the Capitol at Washington.

Through the remainder of his long life, and until shortly before his death in 1928, Moran continued to sketch and to picture the grandeur of the rugged western country—the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, Mount of the Holy Cross in the Colorado Rockies, the Tetons, Yosemite, the Devil's Tower, and other scenic wonders now well known to millions of tourists.

Moran found in the "great scenes of nature" his greatest inspiration. He refused to become a faddist in art. He insisted upon following his own style at a time when American painters were borrowing substantially from the French impressionists. His works were severely criticized in his own time, and author Wilkins does not spare us the details of these criticisms. Nevertheless, among those who knew the colorful West which Moran pictured better than did most of the outspoken critics, his paintings were appreciated. His admirers have included geologists, students of natural history, conservationists, and a host of lovers of the western wilderness. And the author reminds us that examples of Moran's art are preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Smithsonian Institution, and other important collections, while those Moran paintings which appear on the market command good prices today.

Thomas Moran and his art are deserving of a fair and thorough appraisal nearly a century after achieving his first fame as a pictorial interpreter of the western landscape. In this writer's opinion Thurman Wilkins has done justice to both the man and the artist. In adklition, the author has provided (in lieu of a checklist of the thousands of Moran's works in oils, watercolors, field sketches and studies, charcoal drawings, etchings, lithographs, and published illustrations) a useful appendix listing and describing the many collections of this versatile artist's pictures in many repositories. The book is handsomely illustrated with forty-eight reproductions of selected works by Thomas Moran. Eight of these, from the rich Moran Collection at the Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, Oklahoma, are reproduced in color.

(John C. Ewers is senior anthropologist in the Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution. His most recent book is Artists of the Old West *[Doubleday, 1965].)*

■ PUEBLO WARRIORS & SPANISH CONQUEST. **By Oakah L. Jones, Jr.** *(Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. 225 pp., illus., maps., sources, index, $5.00).*

BY EDWARD B. DANSON

Although the story of the Spanish settlement of New Mexico has been told many times, I believe this is the first book devoted to the Spaniards' use of the various Indian tribes as auxiliary troops—warriors who in many instances helped save the Southwest for Spain and without whom the conquerors and colonizers might well have lost control of the area for good. Oakah Jones writes of the conflict on the New Mexican frontier from 1692 to 1821.

A long introductory chapter sets the background and tells how the Spaniards were quick to see the advantage of using natives to conquer other natives. A second chapter explains in detail the assistance rendered by the Pueblo Indians to the Spaniards in the reconquest of New Mexico. It was a Zia Indian who told Vargas of the anarchy and strife rampant among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. With the Keres aiding the Spaniards, the Tewa Pueblos submitted or were conquered; and by 1694 all but the Hopi Indians were once again under the rule of Spain.

From 1704 until 1729, the Spaniards made use of the Pueblo Indians to fight other enemies—the Navajo, Apache, and Ute bands who continually raided the settled pueblos and Spanish settlements. Spanish forces were not of sufficient strength to deal with these nomadic warriors, and Pueblo allies were used for all of the campaigns against the warlike tribes.

The developing strength of the Comanches almost resulted in the defeat of the Spaniards in New Mexico. By 1752 Apache and Ute contingents were used with the Pueblos in wars against the Comanches. However, some Apache, Navajo, and Comanche bands continued their raids; and by 1776, the problem of defending New Mexico became extremely serious. There is good reason to believe that without the loyal Pueblo Indians, the Spaniards might have been driven out of New Mexico as they had been in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

Jones writes of these defensive problems, and he enumerates the many expeditions in which the Pueblo Indians aided Spain. He then relates how the Spaniards stabilized New Mexico by means of a unified, aggressive, consistent, and well-administered Indian policy. He emphasizes that without the friendly Pueblo tribes, whose men were excellent soldiers (far better than the local Spaniards), a stable condition would undoubtedly not have been achieved.

This is an interesting if not exciting book about a subject known to most students of southwestern history but never before explored in such detail. The author is to be complimented on his twenty-two-page list of sources consulted, which will be of value to historians and to scholars in other fields as well

(Archeologist Edward B. Danson is director of the Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff.)

■ GAYOSO: THE LIFE OF A SPANISH GOVERNOR IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1789–1799. **By Jack D. L. Holmes** *(Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press for the Louisiana Historical Association, 1965. 305 pp., frontis., tables, app., biblio. of MS sources, index, $7.50).*

BY FRANKLIN G. SMITH

Among the least discussed subjects of the Spanish Borderlands, in the literature of the western writers, is the short-lived Spanish occupation of the Mississippi Valley in the last half of the eighteenth century. Dr. Holmes's coverage of ten years in the life of Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of the Natchez District (1789–97) and governor general of Louisiana and West Florida (1797–99) indicates that even the most hardened California or New Mexico Hispanophile can profit from readings on the other Spanish colonies. Indeed, this book will be a valuable source for all serious students of New Spain.

While Dr. Holmes concentrates on Gayoso, he presents also the history of the era. In an impressive array of data which covers administration, military affairs, diplomacy, and social life, he compiles a picture of colonial existence rich in implication as well as fact. The organization of the chapters could have profited from subheadings and clearer transitions between topics, but the material presented is ample compensation for the mental effort of recataloguing to the individual reader's taste.

Gayoso's stewardship comes through more clearly than the man himself. A dedicated civil servant of the crown, his achievements are most impressively detailed, as are his frustrations. Dr. Holmes's candid admission of his admiration for the man compensates for the occasional glossing-over of human frailties and for the subjective evaluation of Gayoso's considerable abilities as an administrator, soldier, and diplomat. The picture drawn is one of a high-tempered individual, capable of considerable anger when his own prerogatives were flouted, who nonetheless did not hesitate to go outside the administrative channels when he felt it desirable. He was able as an administrator yet had considerable difficulty with his accounts, both personal and official. (The misplacement during a ten-year period of a receipt for $16,000 is one example!)

(A specialist in Spanish and frontier military history, Franklin G. Smith is superintendent of the Fort Davis National Historical Site in Texas.)

■ THE MODERN MEXICAN ESSAY. *Edited* **by José Luis Martínez.** *Translated by H. W. Hilborn (University of Toronto Press, 1965. 524 pp., map, $8.50).*

A distinguished collection selected to illustrate the more profound bases of Mexican culture and to offer the means for a comparative study of Mexico, Canada, and the United States.

■ THE CLASH AND ATTRACTION OF TWO CULTURES: THE HISPANIC AND ANGLO-SAXON WORLDS IN AMERICA. **By Angel del Río.** *Translated and edited by James F. Shearer. Foreword by Jacques Barzun (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1965. 127 pp., notes, $5.00).*

■ A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE MEXICAN WAR: ITS CAUSES, CONDUCT, AND CONSEQUENCES: COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS MILITARY AND NAVAL OPERATIONS, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE TREATY OF PEACE. *Illustrated and Explained by Maps, Plans of Battles, Views, and Portraits.* **By N. C. Brooks, A.M.** ■ COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE LATE MEXICAN WAR, CONTAINING AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF ALL THE BATTLES FOUGHT IN THAT REPUBLIC INCLUDING THE TREATY OF PEACE; WITH A LIST OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED, TOGETHER WITH A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIVES OF GENERALS SCOTT AND TAYLOR. *Illustrated with fifteen beautiful engravings.* **By an eye-witness.** *Foreword by Gilberto Espinosa (reprint, Chicago, Rio Grande Press, 1965. 558 & 119 pp., $17.50).*

Two rare works are here brought together between two covers. Gilberto Espinosa describes the Brooks volume as "the least known, while yet the most authentic, of the books published about the Mexican War." The second work by an unknown author describes the major engagements of the war and lists by name the casualties.

■ DISTURNELL'S TREATY MAP: THE MAP THAT WAS PART OF THE GUADALUPE HIDALGO TREATY ON SOUTHWESTERN BOUNDARIES, 1848 *(Santa Fe, Stagecoach Press, 1965. 20 pp., map—folded and bound with text as a book or rolled in a tube with accompanying booklet, $4.95).*

A facsimile reprinting in color of the historic map upon which was drawn the 1848 boundary between Mexico and the United States. Inaccuracies in the map caused disputes requiring a careful boundary survey later undertaken by Bartlett and Emory. Reprinted is the twelfth edition (1847), the version that was part of the Mexican copy of the treaty. The history of the treaty and of the map is detailed in the accompaniment by Jack Rittenhouse.

■ PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF EXPLORATIONS AND INCIDENTS IN TEXAS, NEW MEXICO, CALIFORNIA, SONORA, AND CHIHUAHUA, CONNECTED WITH THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION, DURING THE YEARS 1850, '51, '52 AND '53. **By John Russell Bartlett.** *New introduction by Odie B. Faulk (reprint, 2 vols., Chicago, Rio Grande Press, 1965. 506 & 624 pp., illus., maps, app., index, $32.50).*

John Russell Bartlett in 1850 was appointed by President Taylor as commissioner to resolve with Mexico the boundary-demarcation dispute from the Rio Grande to the Colorado River caused by the mistakes on the Disturnell treaty map. Bartlett worked at the task until early 1853, but the line he agreed upon with the Mexican commission was not acceptable to his government. The dispute was resolved by the Gadsden Purchase. During the course of his field work, Bartlett seemed more interested in the world on both sides of the boundary than in the line itself, and he ranged widely through Texas, New Mexico, Chihuahua, Arizona, Sonora, and California. He collected an important body of data on history, biography, biology, ethnology, geography, railroads, and mines and resources, all of which he published in his clearly written *Personal Narrative* published in 1854. His work for years served as a guide for those traveling in the Southwest, and it has been in constant use by historians and others ever since. Indeed, Bartlett's firsthand account is one of the basic books on travel and life in the Southwest.

■ NEW TRACKS IN NORTH AMERICA: A JOURNAL OF TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE WHILST ENGAGED IN THE SURVEY FOR A SOUTHERN RAILROAD TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN DURING 1867 8. **By William A. Bell,** *with contributions by General W. J. Palmer, Major A. R. Calhoun, C. C. Parry, and Captain W. F. Colton. New foreword by Robert O. Anderson (reprint, Albuquerque, Horn and Wallace, 1965. 564 pp., illus., map, apps., $9.00).*

This important book, first issued in 1869, was written by an Englishman who accompanied William J. Palmer's survey in 1867–68 for a route extending the Kansas Pacific Railway to the Pacific Ocean. Besides information on railroads and projected routes, Bell included much material on history, Indians, and resources of the Southwest, including the Mexican state of Sonora.

■ DIVIDING THE WATERS: A CENTURY OF CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO. **By Norris Hundley, Jr.** *(Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1966. 266 pp., illus., biblio., index, $6.95).*

A scholarly review of problems involving the Tiajuana, Colorado, and Rio Grande rivers.

■ THE CHANGING MILE: AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF VEGETATION CHANGE WITH TIME IN THE LOWER MILE OF AN ARID AND SEMIARID REGION. **By James Rodney Hastings** *and* **Raymond M. Turner** *(Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1965. 317 pp., illus., notes, biblio., index, $12.50).*

The extent to which man and climate since 1880 have changed the face of the arid Southwest of the United States and the arid Northwest of Mexico is illustrated in this scholarly analysis by ninety-seven pairs of matched "then-and-now" photographs. The "changing mile" is defined as the first mile above sea level in the Sonora Desert.

■ SKY DETERMINES: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SOUTHWEST. **By Ross Calvin.** *Illustrated by Peter Hurd (reprint, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1966. 391 pp., biblio., index, $5.00 cloth, $2.50 paper).*

History in New Mexico and the Southwest, Calvin reminds us, did not take place under a roof. The sky determines climate, and the climate the biotic and geographical environment, and thus the life of man has been shaped. A new editing of a classic first published in 1934.

■ THE MEMORIAL OF FRAY ALONSO DE BENAVIDES, 1630. *Translated* **by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer.** *Annotated by Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis (reprint, Albuquerque, Horn and Wallace, 1965. 309 pp., illus., index, $7.00).*

A new issue of the 1916 elaborately annotated edition of Benavides' classic description of New Mexico first published in Madrid in 1630.

■ THE NATION OF THE WILLOWS. **By Frank H. Cushing** *(reprint, Flagstaff, Northland Press, 1965. 75 pp., $4.00).*

Taking time off from his celebrated studies at Zuñi, Frank H. Cushing during the summer of 1881 visited the Havasupai Indians living in Cataract Canyon, a tributary of Grand Canyon. The first anthropologist to visit those isolated people, his account was first published in the *Century Magazine* in 1882. Robert C. Euler writes in the preface of this new edition that Cushing's work is a noteworthy example of nineteenth-century ethnological reporting.

■ NEW MEXICO PLACE NAMES: A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY. *Edited* **by T. M. Pearce.** *Assisted by Ina Sizer Cassidy and Helen S. Pearce (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1965. 187 pp., biblio., $6.00).*

Done on historical principles. The rich historical heritage of New Mexico is nicely illustrated in the some five thousand names listed. There are six general language divisions from which the name-words derive: four Indian stocks, Spanish, and English.

■ JOHN SPRING'S ARIZONA. *Edited* **by A. M. Gustafson** *(Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1966. 326 pp., illus., index, $7.50).*

This book consists of a series of articles written for the Washington, D. C. *National Tribune* by a well-educated Swiss who arrived in Arizona with the U.S. Army in 1866. He stayed on in the territory after discharge to become educator, farmer, sutler, brewer, businessman, scientist, and correspondent. His remarkably human and interesting articles cover his varied and adventurous life in the Southwest from 1866 to 1885.

■ GIDEON LINCECUM, 1793–1874: A BIOGRAPHY. **By Lois Wood Burkhalter** *(Austin and London, University of Texas Press, 1965. 362 pp., apps., biblio., index, $6.50).*

Scholarly biography of physician, musician, naturalist, translator of Indian dialects, and one of eclectic and universal tastes who moved with, or ahead of, the American frontier into Mexico and Texas.

■ SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF A WESTERN RANCHMAN, NEW MEXICO, 1883–1899. **By The Hon. William French,** VOL. I; FURTHER RECOLLECTIONS OF A WESTERN RANCHMAN . . . BEING VOLUME II OF SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF A WESTERN RANCHMAN. **By Captain William French.** *Edited with an introduction by Jeff C. Dykes from the complete original manuscript hitherto unpublished. Limited edition of 750 copies (New York, Argosy-Antiquarian, 1965. 597 pp., illus., index, $35).*

Ramon Adams, in his bibliography *Rampaging Herd*, item 847, calls this intelligent Englishman's remembrances one of the really good books on ranch life. Heretofore only the first volume has been published.

■ THE BLAZED TRAIL OF ANTOINE LEROUX. **By Forbes Parkhill.** *Great West and Indian Series, XXX (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1965. 325 pp., notes, biblio., index, $7.50).*

Here is the first documented biography of one of the Southwest's foremost trappers (he was on the Gila in 1826), guide for government expeditions between New Mexico and California, and prominent New Mexican citizen.

■ GENERAL CROOK AND THE APACHE WARS. **By Charles F. Lummis.** *Edited by Turbesé Lummis Fiske. Foreword by Dudley Gordon. Illustrations by Don Perceval (Flagstaff, Northland Press, 1966. 148 pp., $7.50).*

The dispatches sent by Lummis to the Los Angeles *Times* covering the army's campaign after renegade Apaches, 1886–87.

■ DIARY OF AN EXCURSION TO THE RUINS OF ABO, QUARRA AND GRAN QUIVIRA IN NEW MEXICO IN 1853. *Under the command of* **Major James Henry Carleton.** *Southwestern Series, No. 1. Limited edition of 750 copies (Santa Fe, Stagecoach Press, 1965. 61 pp., notes, $4.50).*

■ EARLY RAILROAD DAYS IN NEW MEXICO. **By Henry Allen Tice.** *Southwestern Series, No. 2. Limited edition of 700 copies (Santa Fe, Stagecoach Press, 1965. 61 pp., $4.50).*

An entertaining memoir of adventures by one who ran the first railroad survey from Albuquerque to Fort Wingate.

Wagons to Chihuahua *continued*

street boasted three or four stores, a blacksmith shop or two, a livery stable, and a couple of cantinas which measured their yearly profits chiefly by the number of thirsty trail drivers served annually. The wagon trains usually camped beside the river for a few days, and the teamsters went up to town for a gay time and to catch up on all the news and gossip.

Across the Rio Grande, easily fordable here, was the twin town of Presidio del Norte (Ojinaga). Located at the mouth of the Río Conchos, it was the port of entry to Mexico, where the wagon trains had to pass customs inspection. Train owners had to face up to the fact that tariffs were subject to change, by law and by the whim of officials in charge.

A different world began in Presidio del Norte. The town was a welter of blue, pink, yellow, and ochre buildings. Amid the scattered adobes was an ugly church. Many of the people were mixed breeds—"watered-down Apaches." It was an intriguing place to the man making his first trip over the trail.

From Presidio del Norte the route stayed south of the Río Conchos and followed a southwestern course until it crossed the Conchos at Julimes some 150 miles away. The toughest stretch of the entire trail began forty miles south of the border. It was no-nonsense desert now. Brown, saw-toothed mountains crouched in the distance; bristling cactus fields filled the space between, and the Mexican sun seemed more relentless than the Texas sun. On the long haul between Rancho de la Mula and Chupadero there was not a drop of water. Even at Chupadero the flow of the small spring was but a trickle. Santleben made it a practice to send men ahead of his trains to construct temporary dams to impound water enough for men and animals.

It was another long haul to Julimes, an important stop on the Conchos, as was Rancho Bachimba, on a tributary by that name, where the trail turned west and northwest on the home stretch toward Chihuahua. The road now crossed a tawny waste pungent with the smell of greasewood and carpeted with prickly pear whose spines made misery for the mules. It crossed the Sierra de Ojito through Ojito Canyon where Apaches occasionally ambushed trains a mere twenty miles from Chihuahua. Once the passage was made, excitement mounted as the long journey from the Gulf of Mexico neared an end.

The first sign of the city was the appearance of the twin spires of the cathedral. From far out on the trail the sight inspired Mexican teamsters to make the sign of the cross and mumble prayers of thankfulness for another trip safely made. The way into the city passed through a mean suburb of adobe huts out of which swarmed half-naked, brown children who, in company with barking dogs, raced alongside the hurrying wagons. In view was the slag of the crude smelters, the city's economic lifeblood.

Despite its unattractive environs, the city of Chihuahua could never have been anything but beautiful to the city-starved men of the trail. And it was for its time and place almost a noble city, especially that part surrounding the Plaza Mayor where the ecclesiastical and government structures were clustered. A massive eighteenth-century aqueduct which spanned the countryside brought the waters of the Río Chuviscar splashing into the fountains of the plaza. The imposing cathedral dedicated to St. Francis overlooked the entire scene.

During trail days Chihuahua was a city of extremes. It was rich, so rich that some of its wealthiest men

shod their horses in solid silver. It was also a city of brutal poverty, stoically endured, callously rationalized. It had a merchant class as hard-headedly pragmatic as its Yankee counterpart but also had a lofty clique of great, feudal landowners who lived on a level of lord-and-retainer grandeur that shocked even those freighters who had known the slave-owning South of the United States. It was a city thick with piety, filled with somberly dressed priests and nuns and the sound of church bells. It was also a place where the governor of the state could proclaim a fiesta—as described by freighter August Santleben—to celebrate the arrival of bounty hunters whose trade was in murdered Apaches and Comanches. Preceded by a brass band, these men of "friendly" Indian tribes—expatriate Kickapoos and Seminoles and native Tarahumaras—rode down the crowded streets, their lances extended and festooned with the still bloody scalps for which they had come to claim the government's silver. It was, finally, a city where women of the Spanish and Creole upper class were as untouchable as vestal virgins. And it was a city in which certain other women, tawny "*muchachas de las cantinas*" had charms which some of the more ardent trailmen found equally enticing and more tangible.

The actual end of the trail was Chihuahua's famous Meson de Messare, a hostelry a whole square in size which provided not only lodging for teamsters but accommodated within its enclosure as many as four large wagon trains and provided stalls for six hundred animals. The most remarkable thing at the Meson de Messare was the great stone granary. It was built in the form of a huge bottle, as high as a five-story building, broad at the bottom and narrow at the top. Grain brought over the trail was carried to the top of the tower by a roped scaffold operated by a winch and deposited in the neck of the "bottle." The feed was removed from a slot at the bottom. When the granary was filled to its fifteen-thousand-bushel capacity, the top was sealed with adobe mortar which prevented the slightest spoilage for as long as three years.

* * *

By the mid-1870's the great days on the Texas-Chihuahua Trail were nearing an end. On the morning of February 19, 1877, a flag-draped locomotive of the Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railroad steamed into the Alamo City. The coming of the rails put an end to the wagon traffic between the gulf and San Antonio. But the freighters still prospered. The railhead saved the two-hundred-mile haul from Indianola, and it was not likely the railroad would be built on west and put them out of business. The Apaches would see to that!

But the railroad expanded rapidly during the next decade. The Southern Pacific, building from the west, reached El Paso and then pushed on toward the Pecos. The G.H.&S.A. confounded the freighters by laying its steel west from San Antonio. Paralleling the old trail, the company reached Fort Clark and rushed on with little or no resistance from the Apaches. Railroad tidings from Mexico were also fateful: the Mexican Central Railway was building north and approaching Chihuahua itself. Finally, early in 1883 near the place where the Pecos enters the Rio Grande, the crews building out of San Antonio met the crews building down from El Paso.

Then in 1884 the Mexican Central from Mexico City to Chihuahua and to Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez) was completed. El Paso, separated from its twin city, Paso del Norte, by the Rio Grande, was on a transcontinental line with connections to the Gulf of Mexico and points east and west, and overnight it became the gateway to Chihuahua and north central Mexico.

Traffic over the long thousand-mile road from San Antonio stopped. The Texas-Chihuahua Trail was dead. It is less remembered than some of the other great wagon routes in the West, but it was no less important for that. It was a historic link between two countries at a time when both, after the Civil War and after the French intervention, were moving into a period of rapid economic growth. And the commercial give-and-take between Texas and Chihuahua did much to heal the wounds and calm the bitterness brought on by the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War.

In the preparation of this article, the author relied principally on the following works: August Santleben, *A Texas Pioneer* (New York, 1910); Carlysle Graham Raht, *The Romance of the Davis Mountains and the Big Bend Country* (reprint, Odessa, Texas, 1963); Green Peyton, *San Antonio: City of the Sun* (New York, 1940); Nick Eggenhofer, *Wagons, Mules, and Men* (New York, 1961); Max L. Moorhead (ed.), *Commerce of the Prairies* by Josiah Gregg (Norman, 1954); Curtis Bishop, *Lots of Land* (Austin, 1949). Files of the San Antonio *Express*, *Indianola Bulletin*, Washington-on-the-Brazos *National Register*, and the *Texas Almanac* were consulted. Manuscripts and papers in the collections of the University of Texas, including those of J. W. Williams and T. U. Taylor, were also consulted.

After breakfast, Lieutenant Saltelo said Governor Alencaster had learned about Pike's missing his route, and that the party was to be taken to Santa Fe—from where it was eight days' march to the navigable portion of the Red River.

" 'What,' said I (interrupting him), 'is not this the Red River?'

'No sir! The Río del Norte [Rio Grande]!' "

Pike added in his journal, "I immediately ordered my flag to be taken down and rolled up, feeling how sensibly I had committeed myself, in entering their territory, and was conscious that they must have positive orders to take me in." He seemed almost eager.

Pike wanted to wait for Sergeant Meek and his other men to return from the Arkansas River, but Lieutenant Saltelo insisted that his command was not provisioned for such a delay. A small escort of dragoons under Lieutenant Fernandez was left behind to bring in the others. Pike insisted on leaving two of his own men, also, to explain the situation to Meek because the sergeant "never would come in without fight, if not ordered."

On the morning of February 27, the main body of troops, together with Pike and a part of his detachment, began the march. They descended the valley of the Rio Grande and reached Santa Fe on March 5. It embarrassed Pike to enter the capital of New Mexico in his nondescript clothing:

> I was dressed in a pair of blue trowsers, mockinsons, blanket coat and a cap made of scarlet cloth, lined with fox skins, and my poor fellows in leggings, breech cloths and leather coats and not a hat in the whole party. This appearance was extremely mortifying to us all, especially as soldiers. . . .

Pike's journal carries the following dialogue, which occurred when he was taken before Governor Alencaster:

> *Governor.* Do you speak French?
> *Pike.* Yes sir
> *Governor.* You come to reconnoitre our country, do you?
> *Pike.* I marched to reconnoitre our own.
> *Governor.* In what character are you?
> *Pike.* In my proper character, an officer of the United States army.
> *Governor.* And this Robinson, is he attached to your party?
> *Pike.* No.
> *Governor.* Do you know him?
> *Pike.* Yes, he is from St. Louis. (I had understood the doctor was sent 45 leagues from Santa Fe, under a strong guard, and the haughty and unfriendly reception of the governor induced me to believe war must have been declared, and that if it was known Dr. Robinson accompanied me, he would be treated with great severity. I was correct in saying he was not attached to my party, for he was only a volunteer, he could not properly be said to be one of my command.)
> *Governor.* How many men have you?
> *Pike.* Fifteen.
> *Governor.* And this Robinson makes sixteen
> *Pike.* I have already told your excellency that he does not belong to my party, and shall answer no more interrogatories on that subject.

The next day, Alencaster examined the trunk in which Pike carried his papers. It was then that he decided he must send Pike and his men to Chihuahua, where the case could be handled by his superior, General Nemesio Salcedo, commandant general of the Interior Provinces of New Spain.

"But, sir," Pike said, "I cannot consent to be led three or four hundred leagues out of my route, without its being by force of arms."

Alencaster replied, "I know you do not go voluntarily, but I will give you a certificate from under my hand of my having obliged you to march."

Leaving a letter of instructions for Sergeant Meek, Pike left Santa Fe on March 4 with an armed escort. He had dined with Alencaster the night before, ridden in His Excellency's official coach, and their parting had been a friendly one. Now he faced a long march—to occupy nearly a month—before his confrontation with General Salcedo. Dr. Robinson joined the group at a nearby village where he was being held, and the entourage started down the long road to Chihuahua, passing such places on the way as Santo Domingo Pueblo, the Keresan Pueblos, San Felipe, Algodones, Bernalillo, and Sandia Pueblo. At Fray Cristóbal Mountain they had to choose between the straight but risky trail called the Jornada del Muerto, or the circuitous route along the river. They chose the river road.

Back in Santa Fe, the stragglers had all been brought in by March 18—some of them permanently maimed by frostbite and bitter toward their captain. With Pike out of the picture, they were fair game for Governor Alencaster's blandishments, and they began to talk freely. One private told the governor that he and some of the others had secretly examined Pike's papers earlier in the expedition. The boy was vague about what they had learned, but Alencaster interpreted the story as a planned penetration of Mexican territory. He reported

this by letter to Salcedo. Then another soldier told the governor that the United States planned to send a force of several thousand men to rescue Pike if he fell into Spanish hands. This lad was so convincing that Alencaster immediately called out a force of militiamen and regulars to patrol the northern and eastern borders of New Mexico.

The mustering of this patrol was one of the most unnecessary and wasteful events in the whole comic-opera sequence. Alencaster's diligent bookkeepers kept a record of every peso spent by this force as it toured from April through June, and the Spanish government vainly tried to collect from the United States. The correspondence between officials of the two countries, continuing long after the expedition itself had ended, involved the sum of more than twenty thousand pesos.

With few exceptions, Pike's men needed constant supervision. Had they now been under Pike's immediate command, one tragedy might have been avoided. Alencaster sent the second crew, the stragglers, on to Chihuahua behind Pike after they had been questioned. They were stopping at the presidio of Carrizal, between Santa Fe and Chihuahua, when Sergeant Meek and Private Miller fell into an argument. Both had been drinking. At the height of the dispute the sergeant ran the private through with a bayonet, and Miller died at once.

There was a spate of testimony at Carrizal and later at Chihuahua, involving the length of the wound (measured with a ramrod) and the cause of the brawl, but in all the proceedings nobody mentioned the most tragic aspect. Meek and Miller had trudged together on frozen feet, along the Upper Mississippi River, then had made their way to the Rockies and volunteered to go back for Vasquez, Smith, and the horses from the stockade on the Conejos River. They were close friends who had done the impossible together. Meek's defense was that his private had disobeyed an order, and his defenders made a good case for him. But because of the slaying he was detained in Mexico for fourteen years. Pike never saw him again.

From the moment that Pike and Robinson arrived in Chihuahua, the important man in their lives was General Nemesio Salcedo. His command of the *Provincias Internas* gave him control of all the uppermost Mexican provinces, quite apart from those to the south which were ruled by the viceroy of Mexico. Salcedo's position amounted practically to a second viceroyalty.

Salcedo had a difficult role to play, for he was months away from any superior who might have counseled him on the many questions that arose. Just where was the boundary between New Spain and the United States now that the Louisiana Purchase was completed? How fast and how forcibly would the U.S. frontiersmen crowd in upon the Spanish Borderlands? Certainly there was evidence of their intention in the recent expeditions of Lewis and Clark and of Thomas Freeman. And now here was Pike which meant more of the same trouble

There is no way of knowing whether Salcedo knew about General Wilkinson's pension arrangement with the Spanish government, but the knowledge probably would not have allayed Salcedo's distrust of the man. Wilkinson was not trusted on either side of the border except by stubbornly loyal friends. Salcedo had, in fact, two reasons to be wary of this slippery American general: there had been a confrontation between U.S. and Spanish troops along the Sabine River the previous autumn in which Wilkinson had forced the Spanish troops to retire back across the river which formed the international boundary (pending arbitration)., Also, news of the Burr conspiracy against Spanish interests in Mexico was just then filtering into Chihuahua, and Wilkinson seemed to be implicated. Thus, there was every reason to look carefully at anyone who claimed a relationship with Wilkinson.

In his journal, Pike could not resist the urge to make himself appear as a welcome guest in Chihuahua. "Dined with the general," he wrote. "Rode out in the coach . . . was hospitably entertained . . . we drank London Porter. Spent the evening at a Fandango." And yet, General Salcedo could not have felt much like wining and dining young Captain Pike after looking over his papers.

As was customary in his day, Pike kept copies of all his outgoing letters in a bound letterbook. This correspondence, particularly to and from Wilkinson, contained much to arouse Salcedo's suspicions. The papers included such documents as these: a map in Pike's hand showing a purported route from the U.S. frontier to Santa Fe—drawn by Pike before he left St. Louis from information given by traders; a letter from Pike to Wilkinson boasting that he would not hesitate to lead a military force into Mexico from St. Louis; another letter —the famous one in which he hinted that he might pretend to be lost—saying that an opportunity for him to visit Santa Fe "would gratify our most sanguine

expectations."

There were other items, including Pike's field notebook in which he had made day-to-day cartographic sketches of both his expeditions—twenty-one documents in all, carefully itemized by Salcedo and retained in his custody. These papers were to become the subject of much controversy after Pike's return to the United States, but all efforts to recover them failed until a century after the expedition when in 1910 they were returned to the National Archives in Washington by the Mexican government.

Aided by a translator, Salcedo went over the material carefully. Excerpts of suspicious or overtly damaging passages were set down in English, then translated into Spanish and shipped off to Salcedo's superiors. But there was no time to wait for a reply, while holding in custody a protégé of Wilkinson whose rescue might be attempted by an American expeditionary force. Salcedo made plans to send Pike and his men back to the United States through Texas by way of San Antonio and Nacogdoches.

On the day that Salcedo announced he was sending Pike and his men home, he received a letter from Dr. Robinson asking for permission to remain in Mexico and saying: "I take note of the fact that I am not involved with the purposes of the . . . expedition, directly or indirectly. . . . It is also true that General Wilkinson did not know of my intentions to visit this country because perhaps he would not have permitted it."

This was Robinson's second request to remain in Mexico, and it failed. Although he promised to adopt the Catholic faith and to conduct geographical surveys for Spain, Salcedo would not allow him to stay. The letters he addressed to the general have only come to light in recent years; apparently Pike never learned of them and was not told of the doctor's intention to defect. In fact, Pike saw the matter quite another way in his journal: "We had been for some time suspicious that the doctor was to be detained, but this evening [April 26] he likewise obtained permission to pursue his journey with me, which diffused general joy through all the party."

The two-month-long journey from Chihuahua to the U.S. border post at Natchitoches began on April 28. During this journey Pike was warned to make no astronomical observations and no journal entries. He managed the journal entries, however, by stationing his orderly to keep watch during rest periods while he "sat down peaceably under a bush and made . . . notes, &c."

The route from Chihuahua to the Presidio del Río Grande, where the party was to cross into Texas, bypassed the desert area called Bolson de Mapimí, crossed through Jiménez and Monclova, and then angled northeast to the Rio Grande.

As the procession of men and animals moved along, one pair of animals in particular was an object of concern to the travelers. Lashed to the back of a mule was a cage containing two grizzly bear cubs. Pike had gotten them from an Indian before reaching Chihuahua, and now was attempting to get them home alive to President Thomas Jefferson. They were docile when loose in the camp, romped like puppies, and were fed and admired by Mexicans along the route. Eventually Jefferson would receive them in good health and they would be transferred to Charles Willson Peale's museum in Philadelphia.

At the moment, however, Jefferson did not know the status of Pike's venture nor did Wilkinson. It had been Wilkinson's idea to send Pike westward, and Jefferson apparently had not been consulted in advance, although the Department of War had been advised. Later Jefferson would accept the expedition as official, but he never would think of it as *his own* in the way that he did the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Jefferson first learned of Pike's capture from a letter that Salcedo wrote to General Wilkinson:

> Your excellency is not ignorant of the repeated representations made by the king's minister in the United States . . . summoning the American government [not] to carry into effect any projects of extending its expeditions into territories unquestionably belonging to his majesty; you must therefore, without any further observations or remarks on my part, be satisfied, that the documents [found on Pike] contain evident, unequivocal proofs, that an offence of magnitude has been committed against His Majesty. . . .

Salcedo added that he ought to consider Pike and his men prisoners, but that in the interest of "harmony and good understanding" he was sending them home—without those suspicious papers.

The reply came from Wilkinson but in a paraphrase of words actually penned by Jefferson. The letter read in part as follows:

> In the transfer of Luisiana by France to the United States, in accord with the limits [of territory] which the Government of the United States then possessed, it was considered to have the right to the Territory as far as the Río del Norte; but

since it learned a little later that Spain claimed east to the Río Sabinas, it has abstained carefully from committing in the intermediate territory any act which might disturb the present state of affairs, until these conflicting claims might be explained and arranged amicably.

But that the Red River and all its channels belonged to France, and that she set up various towns on that River and owned them as a part of Luisiana until the latter Territory was delivered to Spain, and that, on the other hand, Spain did not set up a single town along that River, are circumstances so well known and so capable of proof that it could not be believed (nor could one persuade oneself) of a [contrary, answer or result to these facts or to the rights established by them. This is the origin of my Government's taking measures to explore that River. . . . The orders of Lieut. Pike were therefore strictly limited to the waters of the Red River and to proper observation of it, on my orders. I am persuaded that it must have been as he himself declares—that because he lost his way he arrived at the Waters of the Río del Norte instead of those of the Red.

That Your Excellency will excuse this involuntary error and also misfortune was to be expected from the generosity of your character, and the service and affection which you showed him are an honorable example of those good offices which you have shown, on your side, as a neighbor, and which it will be most agreeable to us to cultivate. Receive thanks for these, and be persuaded that on all occasions they will receive a similar response: Lieut. Pike must appeal to the same generous feelings for the restoration of his papers.

While Jefferson and the War Department were devising this careful reply to Salcedo, Pike was plodding along on the final leg of his journey. His party struck the Rio Grande at a point about forty miles below Eagle Pass and ninety miles above Laredo, Texas, at a presidio which was a main crossing of the river on the road between Monclova and San Antonio. The party struck the Nueces below Espantosa Lake and continued on toward San Antonio, then, after a brief stay in that town, headed toward Nacogdoches.

Finally the entourage approached the Sabine River, and the Mexican phase of the expedition was nearly ended. On the last day, Pike and his men filed through the old Spanish military post of Los Adaes, turned loose an exhausted horse which could not even struggle the last few miles, and by the evening of June 30, 1807, reached the U.S. post at Natchitoches.

Pike's head was filled with memorized data, and his men's gun barrels were crammed with the notes he had managed to retain. He had no reason to be displeased with the results of his expedition. He had done all he set out to do, and by a stroke of luck had seen a vast area in a country with which the United States might later be at war. With General Wilkinson's help—so Pike might have believed—he could look forward to fame and perhaps a modest share of fortune.

In the years following the expedition, General Wilkinson was less helpful to Pike than he might have been, for Wilkinson's reputation was waning at an ever increasing rate. He had exposed the machinations of Burr, perhaps to escape detection himself, and was under suspicion along with Burr of plotting a filibuster in Mexico. During the next few years he was kept busy defending himself against other charges as well. Pike's fame arrived almost in spite of Wilkinson's help, not because of it. His journal, published in 1810, brought him little financial gain because his publisher soon became bankrupt and left him with a roomful of unsold copies, but it did bring him a good deal of public acclaim.

Since Pike's journal appeared at a time when the American public was hungry for information about the West and was disappointed by the delay in publication of the Lewis and Clark journals, it had the effect of turning many eyes to the Southwest. His evaluation of what he had seen did not provide immediate encouragement to emigrants—for he was the first in the Southwest to sound the "Great American Desert" theme—but it did persuade traders to venture nearer New Spain. Some breached the border and received varying responses from Spanish officials; others were content to penetrate the Rockies and trap for beaver in the Arkansas River watershed. A copy of Pike's journal usually went along. Until closer and more frequent contacts could be made between the two governments and the two peoples, the mass of information on the geography and culture of the Borderlands, collected by Pike, would serve his countrymen well.

Dr. Robinson eventually returned to Mexico as an envoy of President Monroe, and later as a private revolutionary fighting the Loyalists in the battle for Mexican independence. Baronet Vasquez, with Pike's help, received an army commission and fought in the Mississippi Valley; later he became an Indian agent. The men whom Pike had necessarily left behind in Mexico did not win their release until 1809, and Sergeant Meek turned up at Fort Smith, Arkansas, in 1821, after a long detention resulting from his killing of Private Miller.

After a few years serving in peacetime billets as a field officer, Pike found himself a colonel commanding an infantry regiment in the War of 1812. He was only thirty-

five years old, when in April 1813, having just obtained another promotion—to brigadier general at last—he received a fatal wound at the battle for Toronto.

The suspicion that Pike was in league with Wilkinson would last for a century and a half until historians began to realize that he was guilty of nothing more than attempting to explore the West and spy for his country. It is evident that he and Wilkinson had had an understanding which was not committed to paper, but there is nothing to show that he was involved in the general's private schemes. Pike was not a complicated man. His faith in Wilkinson was childlike and naive; his unmistakable courage was often foolhardy; the prose of his journals was that of a self-educated man striving for literary embellishment. He was unashamedly patriotic, openly sentimental. All that Pike believed and struggled for seems apparent in the passage with which he concluded his western journal. When he came in sight of the U.S. flag at Natchitoches and was greeted by friends he wrote: "All hail, cried I, the ever sacred name of country, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of man!"

The principal source for any study of Pike's travels is his *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and Through the Western Parts of Louisiana . . . and a Tour of the Interior Parts of New Spain* (Philadelphia, 1810). This work must be supplemented by manuscripts from many sources. The documents confiscated by Salcedo are in the National Archives, Record Group 94, Special File No. 6; other Pike documents are to be found in many record groups throughout the National Archives. Much of the correspondence exchanged by Spanish officials is in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, with photostats in the Library of Congress. These and other documents generated by the expeditions, plus the journals, are brought together in Donald Jackson's *Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, With Related Documents* (Norman, 1966). For a biography of Pike, see W. Eugene Hollon, *The Lost Pathfinder* (Norman, 1949).

Spanish Colonial Style *continued*

separated by columns carrying a cornice. There is little decoration, and the statuary has, unfortunately, departed long since. The effect is of a sober Baroque indeed. The nearby Misión de San José y San Miguel de Aguayo is much more ornate. A single tower flanks a portal of the converging type which, since the niche-pilaster dominates the organization, exemplifies the maturest Baroque of any American mission.

Of the several California missions, the one at Santa Barbara illustrates the final frontier development. The present structure was begun in 1815. The walls are of sandstone blocks and the roof is raftered. The facade consists of three ionic columns on either side of the doorway, all six columns supporting a classical pediment decorated with a Greek fret. This is classicism indeed, which is not surprising in view of the date. The classical accuracy is surprising but explainable, the arrangement having been carefully adapted from an engraving in a Spanish edition of the work of the first century Roman architect, Vitruvius. The *retablo*, in harmony, is also ionic. The organization in each case, however, remains Baroque, with the usual flanking staged towers on the facade and tripartite division of the *retablo*.

The most complete Baroque ensemble in the Borderlands is to be found at San Xavier del Bac, near Tucson, founded by the Jesuit Father Francisco Eusebio Kino before 1700. The present building, however, was begun by the Franciscan Father Francisco Tomás Garcés in 1772 and was consecrated in 1797. Two architects, the Gaona brothers, were put in charge of the work, and it shows the sophistication resulting from professionalism. It is, nevertheless, provincial in workmanship, and it is this quality which distinguishes it from its more southerly contemporaries with which it is totally identical in style. The plan is cruciform. The nave is vaulted domically, and a larger dome stands over the crossing. The whole is supported by stone walls reinforced by pier-buttresses. The *retablo* in the apse, although crude in every detail, is of the full *estípite* type with all which that implies in richness, color, and complexity. The portal, too, is composed of *estípites* in two stages and an attic, all covered with Plateresque ornament in the Spanish manner. The portal, in turn, is flanked by towers of extraordinary delicacy which, although devoid of the ornamentation of central Mexico, are of the same structural type. The murals along the walls, rubbed and faded now, reveal that, as in the earlier days in New Spain, they are copies of printed material brought by the padres into the new land and delivered into the hands of native craftsmen to provide them with compositional models and proper subject matter for the embellishment of the church.

Thus, with its stylistic taproots extending back through many centuries, Spanish architecture was transported to the New World very soon after the conquest and was adapted to new and strange conditions as it spread throughout the colonial dominions. But it remained Spanish. And in the architecture of the frontier

missions, representing the most northerly penetration of this art form, we are made constantly aware of one of Spain's lasting contributions to the cultural life of the Borderlands.

This article was based largely upon the following sources: Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Historia del arte hispano-americano* (3 vols., Barcelona, 1950); Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Planos de monumentos arquitectonicos de America y Filipinos existentes en el archivo de Indias* (5 vols., Sevilla, 1933 *et seq.*); Dr. [G. Murillo] Atl, José R. Benitez, and Manuel Toussaint, *Iglesias de Mexico* (6 vols., Mexico, 1924–27); Joseph Armstrong Baird, *The Churches of Mexico, 1530–1810* (Berkeley, 1962); Pablo de Gante, *La arquitectura de Mexico en el siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1949); George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1948); George Kubler and Martin Soria, *The Art and Architecture of Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500–1800* (Baltimore, 1959); José Moreno Villa, *La escultura colonial de Mexico* (Mexico, 1942); Pedro Rojas, *Historia general del arte mexicano: Epoca colonial* (Mexico, 1963); Miguel Solá, *Historia de arte hispano-americano* (Barcelona, 1935); and Manuel Toussaint, *Arte colonial en Mexico* (Mexico, 1948).

Kino on the Arizona Border *continued*

ones to baptize. Afterward, more than 100 Indians came from another ranchería and brought some very white salt to present to us, all very desirous of being Christians. Also, some came from San Marcelo del Sonoidag [Sonoyta] **which is no more than a long day's travel from the sea. . . .**

On the 7th, on leaving from San Rafael for San Marcelo, they gave us another 11 little ones to baptize. At midday I located the sun with the astrolabe and found myself with a solar altitude of 52 degrees. With the five degrees and 29 minutes of declination of the sun, today we are at 32 degrees and 30 minutes North Latitude. . . .

[Kino rested briefly at Sonoyta, now on the international boundary and served by a paved road. Later he reached San Serguio, the present Quitobaquito, where a permanent water supply comes from springs. It was an important watering place for centuries and is now a bird haven.]

In the afternoon we left for the good place which we named San Serguio and another four leagues along the arroyo which goes to the sea. It has water which runs in places, carrizales, tulares, and ducks and birds from the marshes and excellent pasturage for the cattle.

On the 8th we set out for the sea accompanied by the new governor and fiscal mayor of San Marcelo del Sonoidag. We went with the precaution of loading the mules with crates full of ollas and gourds to carry water and grass, as the guides did not tell us that on the road and not very far from the sea there was water and grass and even a ranchería of people with their cornfields and squash. Consequently, we left the crates and gourds and pack mules at this place of San Serguio and we set out for the ranchería of the sea which we named Santa Brigida, it being her day. We arrived at sunset, after 18 leagues of a very good road with enough running water, grass, carrizales and tulares. There are about 20 natives at this ranchería. Although at the beginning they were frightened and ran away at seeing people never before seen, with the counsel of the guides they stopped, and received us in a friendly manner with food, timidly sending us squash. . . .

[Here Kino heard the news from natives that there were heavily populated rancherías on the Colorado River. True to his nature—inquisitive and ambitious—he wrote:]

I talked of going there immediately to see, but my companions objected because the few animals we had would tire without relay animals. I left a very good supply of little gifts and good talks here, as afterward in San Marcelo, and with the captain of San Rafael before they went to see them, so that they would advise me of everything in order that I might enter on another occasion, and all were satisfied at that. . . .

[After baptizing six children, he took with him as guide the newly appointed fiscal of Santa Brigida and started for a nearby mountain. Later he confessed that as he stood near the crater's edge on Pinacate he had the first inkling that California was not an island, although it took more explorations and the famous incident of the blue shells before his vague suspicion could become fact. Of this historic moment he wrote:]

At midday we arrived at the top from where we saw in the distance the very close Sea of California with a nearby excellent port or bay. According to its latitude of 32 degrees, it must be the one the old cosmographers called Santa Clara on their maps. It has the entrance to the southwest, and to the east of that entrance [are] **two flat-topped rocks or small hills. Somewhat to the interior, also to the east, is a water hole of fresh water. To the west, this port has a high ridge which reaches almost to the mouth of the Rio Grande. From the summit of this hill of Santa Brigida it was recognized that**

it had been a great volcano because of the many rocky, craggy places. We saw clearly, also, the sand dunes of the mouth of the Rio Grande, and the fiscal showed us where the Colorado River joined the Rio Grande which is about a day's journey before they enter the Sea of California together. The hill of Santa Brigida is to the east of this good port. . . .

[The next day Kino retraced his path through the lava flow to San Serguio, gathered his pack mules, and returned to Sonoyta where he had ordered the other animals to be brought for the good grazing. It was a remarkable day's journey of 55 miles. Thence he returned to Caborca, where he said the first mass since the martyrdom of Father Saeta in 1695. His friend Captain Soba was not there, but was farther south as peace emissary to the Seris and Teopoques. He stayed a day nevertheless, helping to build a corral (branding place, he called it), and urging the natives to plant a new wheat field. More fresh pack mules had arrived from Dolores. He began the long trek home, going through Pitquin and Oquitoa, sending ahead of him to Dolores fresh pitahayas, "a rare fruit for this time of the year," and also the advice that he would try to be home on the 18th.]

In Tubutama this afternoon the branding place for 36 cattle was made. There are 50 head of sheep and goats, and a band of mares, wheat, corn, and beans for the father, and a flat-roofed adobe house with three rooms, one serving for a church, and apart, its kitchen, bakery, and oven. This afternoon, as on the following morning, at the peal of the bell, the people and the boys of the doctrine hastened to say their prayers with their native teacher in the same way as in any other old, Christian pueblo, a thing which caused admiration and joy to the lieutenant. He said that it was a great pity that, in particular, these of Tubutama and those of La Concepción del Caborca did not have their missionary fathers. There was a missionary father at La Concepción a few months before, but he was removed with the usual sinister report that the fathers of Pimería were here at great risk to our lives. . . .

[On October 17 Father Kino traveled forty-five miles, passing through Magdalena (where he was to die in 1711), halting only to sleep eighteen miles from Dolores. He was up before dawn, hurrying onward in time to say mass at his home altar as he had promised he would at the end of his successful trip.]

under his guidance she achieved in her personality a synthesis which might well represent the author's vision of an eventual cultural fusion in the Southwest.

The change in Magdalena was in the form of an adjustment toward Anglo-American life. In *Rio Grande*, Fergusson considers the other side, the strength of Mexican influence. He describes the Mexican as "unmistakably . . . an emergent type" who is "beginning to grasp the tools of industrial civilization" and to "find himself in the arts." The Mexican "track-workers and fruit pickers" in the Southwest are "pioneers" and so are "the Mexican painters and cartoonists who invade the literary teas in Manhattan. Indo-Spanish America is coming toward us, bringing both its gifts and its needs." It seems likely that the increasing international prestige of Mexico, the growing recognition of the power of its culture and the uniqueness of its art, will result in an increase of Mexican prestige and influence in the American Southwest.

Meanwhile, as William Madsen has pointed out, a number of educated Mexican-Americans are beginning to cease the indiscriminate imitation of things Anglo, which had formerly been characteristic of the Mexican-American upper middle class. One of Madsen's informants, John Salazar, said:

> We want equal opportunities for jobs and equal pay for equal work. We want to share the material benefits of American technology. We also want the right to be different from the Anglos. We want to maintain the Mexican family, the dignity of the individual, and the beauty of the Spanish language. I would never trade Latin dignity for Anglo boisterousness. I don't want to be like my Anglo neighbors. I want to be John Salazar, a Mexican-American. This country should be big enough to allow us the freedom to be different without being oppressed.

The John Salazars may well succeed in asserting their *Mexicanismo*—but not without having made some important concessions. They may, for example, have to temper their *machismo* in the face of wives increasingly disinclined to accept a double standard.

With the growing prestige of Mexico proper, with the increased assertiveness of the Mexican-American, and with the support of culturally aware elements among Anglo-Americans, the Southwest may yet retain its savor by allowing the underground springs of Mexican culture to "emerge in broadest flow and permanent action."

Western History Association

The Sixth Annual Conference of the Western History Association will convene in El Paso, Texas, October 13 - 15, 1966. Headquartered in the El Cortez Hotel, sixteen sessions will be presented on topics ranging from United States - Mexican history to western politics, including one session scheduled for the Convention Center in Ciudad Juárez. Plan now to attend!

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Membership in the Association is open to anyone interested in the history and culture of the American West. Membership is solicited, and inquiries should be addressed to the secretary, John Porter Bloom, 3401 Slade Court, Falls Church, Virginia 22042. Annual dues (including THE AMERICAN WEST and all other association publications) $7.50, Sustaining Member (annually) $15, Patron (annually) $100 or more, Life Membership (to be paid in a twelve-month period) $150. Student Memberships available.

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